KU LEUVEN

FACULTEIT SOCIALE WETENSCHAPPEN

Social Inclusion and Exclusion of Urban In-Migrants in Northwestern European Port Cities. Antwerp, Rotterdam & Stockholm, ca. 1850-1930

Paul PUSCHMANN

Proefschrift aangeboden tot het verkrijgen van de graad van Doctor in de Sociale Wetenschappen

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Onderzoekseenheid: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek

2015

ASSOCIATIE KU LEUVEN

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Preface

Migration and social inclusion and exclusion today

Hardly a day passes when migration and social inclusion are not in the news. Many of the news items are littered with notions of invasion, chaos, threat and instability, and underline the need to control migration currents and to incorporate newcomers more efficiently into European societies. European governments and the European Union spend large amounts of their budget controlling European borders, in order to stop illegal migration and human trafficking, to prevent irregular migrants from drowning in the Mediterranean and to offer shelter and protection to political refugees. Simultaneously, important commitments are made with respect to the social inclusion of (legal) migrants into host societies. Attempts are made to provide migrants and their children with equal opportunities in education and the labour market, to alleviate poverty among migrants, to create equal access to institutional support, health services and social benefits, and, last but not least, to combat prejudice and discrimination against newcomers and ethnic and religious minorities (European Commission 2007).

Notwithstanding the efforts of the European authorities, it is clear that migration and social inclusion remain serious challenges. The aftermath of the Arab Spring and the rise of Islamic State (IS) have increased the pressure on Europe's borders. Consequently, the number of refugees trying to cross the Mediterranean has grown massively, and so has the number of casualties. In the period 1998 to 2013, on average, some 44,000 migrants have entered Europe every year via an irregular crossing of the Mediterranean. In 2014 this number amounted to up to 220,000. In the period 2010-2014 more than 8,260 people drowned, 3,279 of them died in the year 2014 (Fargues & Di Bartolomeo 2015). The number of casualties amounted up to 3,695 in 2015, when more than one million economic migrants and refugees arrived, giving rise to Europe's largest refugee crisis after World War II (BBC News 2015).

Those migrants who survive the dangerous crossing of the Mediterenean often do not find the paradise they had hoped for. As irregular migrants lack the permission to settle and work in the European Union, they constantly live in fear and have to hide from the authorities in order to avoid arrest and expulsion. Their illegal status limits their access to the labour market, healthcare, housing and education. Consequently, irregular migrants often live in poor conditions and end up in the informal sector of the economy, where they are vulnerable to exploitation (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2013).

While the fate of irregular migrants is rather gloomy, official statistics show that the social inclusion of legal migrants is also seriously hampered. Currently, 25% of the native-born population in the EU is at risk of poverty or social exclusion, this figure amounts to 40.3% for migrants who were born outside of the European Union (Eurostat 2015). There are, however,

considerable differences between different member states. The difference in poverty risks between migrants and natives is extremely high in Belgium (40.9 percentage points), France (37.4 percentage points), Denmark (34.2 percentage points) and Sweden (33.6 percentage points), while it is small in Malta (3.6 percentage points) and Ireland (1.5 percentage points). Next, the poverty risks among EU-migrants and EU nationals are relatively equal (only 3.4 percent points difference). The reasons for alleviated poverty risks among migrants are primarily related to discrepancies in education and labour market performance. In many European countries, people with a migration background have lower educational attainment, higher drop-out rates in school and face a more difficult transition from school to the job market (Trebbels 2014).

First-generation migrants in Europe are, on average, twice as often unemployed and the highest unemployment figures among migrants are found in Western European countries, especially Norway, The Netherlands and Belgium. For the second generation the outcomes are often even worse (Dancygier & Laitin 2014). Next, there is a huge difference between European and non-European migrants. While the former perform in a similar way as the native population, non-Western migrants have significantly higher unemployment rates, especially non-Western Muslim migrants. Language is an important barrier to labour market access, as well as the lack of recognition of skills and diplomas, which were acquired abroad (Kahanec, Kim & Zimmermann 2011). However, the most important barrier to labour market inclusion is caused by negative attitudes of natives towards migrants, which translates itself into prejudice and discrimination. In addition, lower levels of education and self-confidence, as well as cultural differences contribute to the disparities in labour market access between migrants and natives (Constant, Kahanec & Zimmermann 2009).

Social inclusion is also hampered by the fact that migrants often cluster in suburban areas, which are characterized by relatively high poverty, unemployment and crime rates. That this increases the risk of tensions between natives and migrants became clear in the suburban riots of Paris (2005), London (2011) and Stockholm (2013). Research has shown that residential segregation causes not only tension in immigrant regions, it also contributes to segregation in the labour and marriage market. Migrants who live in areas with high shares of natives, and migrants who inter-marry with natives, experience less barriers in the labour market, as a result of their specific social capital (Strömgren et al. 2014). However, due to higher prices in the housing market in areas with high percentages of natives, it is not obvious that migrants mingle with natives. Inter-marriage is also not self-evident. This is due, amongst other things, to

cultural and religious differences between migrants and natives. Moroccans and Turks (including the second generation), for example, often still marry with partners who are born in their country of origin, although recent figures show a decline in 'import marriages' (De Vries 2013; Van Kerckem et al. 2013). As a result of import marriages, segregation in the marriage market persists, while such marriages create at the same time a new flow of immigrants.

During the previous years an increasingly negative attitude in Europe is observable regarding issues related to migration and the social inclusion of migrants. Symptomatic is the fact that extreme-right wing parties with charismatic leaders have made important electoral gains, from Marine Le Pen's Front National in France, Geert Wilders' Party for Freedom (PVV) in the Netherlands, Heinz-Christian Strache's Freedom Party of Austria and Jimmie Åkesson's Sweden Democrats to Nigel Farage's UK Independence Party in Great Britain. These parties share a strong anti-immigrant sentiment, clamour for migration to stop and target, in particular, Muslim migrants and their descendants. 9/11, the murder of Theo Van Gogh, terrorist attacks by Muslim fundamentalists in European cities (Madrid, London, Paris), the rise of IS in Iraq Syria and Libya, have resulted in increasingly negative attention for Muslims in Europe. At the same time, the number of Muslim immigrants is growing, making some people fear that the Muslim minority soon will turn into a new majority. This fear is strengthened by voices who claim that Islam is not compatible with modernity and the main values of Western democracy, like the separation of church and state and the freedom of speech. Striking in this respect is the spread of the Pegida movement (Patriotic Europeans), which started as a local German movement in the city of Dresden in October 2014. Currently Pegida organizes manifestations in many different European cities. The movement grew, especially after the terrorist attack on the editorial office of the French satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo in Paris on 7 January 2015, following an edition featuring controversial Muhammed cartoons.

Negative attitudes towards Islam and Muslims go far beyond the extreme-right electorate and include a much larger public. Debates about the ban on headscarves and other religious symbols from schools and public offices make it clear time and again that there is a large opposition against Muslims and Islam in Europe. The Eurocrisis, the rise of IS and the terrorist attack on Charlie Hebdo seem to have reinforced these negative feelings, but the trend towards a more negative attitude towards non-Western migrants, and especially Muslims started earlier. Ever since the 1990s politicians and the wider public have been increasingly negative about the effectiveness of previous migration and social inclusion policies. This has led, amongst other things, to a toughening of migration law, an increase in border control, more difficult procedures for obtaining visas and acquiring citizenship (De Haas 2008). In several

Western European countries like the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, Denmark and Austria a shift from integration towards an assimilation policy is observable (Entzinger 2006). In these countries, the belief in a multi-cultural society in which migrants have equal opportunities, but maintain their own culture, religion and identity seems to have faded away in less than a decade. Germany's chancellor, Angela Merkel, expressed these feelings in 2010, when she claimed that "Germany's multicultural society had utterly failed" (Schrader 2010). Several European leaders confirmed her point of view, among them David Cameron, Yves Leterme, Mark Rutte and Nicolas Sarkozy. These negative attitudes are often coupled with a desire to cut immigration. Sarkozy put it in his 2012 election campaign as follows: "Our system of integration is working increasingly badly, because we have too many foreigners on our territory and we can no longer manage to find them accommodation, a job, a school" (Chrisafis 2012).

Migration and social inclusion and exclusion in the past

Although journalists, politicians and even most social scientists implicitly or explicitly state that Europe faces unprecedented challenges with respect to migration and social inclusion, it is striking how many parallels can be drawn between the present-day situation and past migration experiences, especially those of the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which are the focus of this PhD thesis. In that age, cities were - as today - confronted with an increasing number of in-migrants, and urban in-migration rates were often so high that they exceeded those of the late twentieth century (Lucassen 2006b; Hochstadt 2002).

Next, the causes of migration were highly similar. In the past, as well as today, migrants move as they cherish the hope that they will be able to find a better living elsewhere. Mortality decline during the nineteenth century increased population pressure in the European countryside, while industrialization and the rising market economy destroyed traditional local employment opportunities, encouraging rural dwellers to leave their place of birth and to move either to a nearby city, or to leave the continent and start a new life abroad. Exactly the same forces drive economic refugees out of Africa to Europe today. In addition, like today, there were considerable numbers of political refugees in the late nineteenth and end early twentieth centuries. An increasing number of Jews moved, for example, from Eastern to Western Europe as a consequence of pogroms, and more than a million Belgians fled to the Netherlands when the German troops invaded Belgium during World War One (Obdeijn & Schrover 2008).

Like today, states and local governments increasingly tried to control migrants towards the end of the nineteenth century by passing laws regarding migration, settlement, citizenship and access to the labour market (Moch 2012). By that time, millions of foreigners were already moving into France and increasingly also to other Western European states (Lucassen 2006a). These immigrants joined the ranks of an even larger crowd of internal migrants. As migration accelerated, border controls increased, and migrants who tried to enter the country without proper documents were being denied access to the territory, while irregular migrants received expulsion orders. Next, foreigners were increasingly being screened by police forces, and information about non-nationals was being saved into foreigner files in order to identify and catch migrants who were potentially dangerous to the state and its citizens (Caestecker 1998; Van den Borre 2012). Whereas today certain groups of migrants are considered as a threat for society due to their religious and political attitudes, nineteenth-century urban in-migrants were believed to be at an increased risk of participating in revolutionary movements (Moch 2012).

The state also tried to foster the social inclusion of migrants and this was highly related to the nineteenth century process of nation-building and applied not only to international migrants but also to internal migrants with a strong regional identity and different (sub-) culture, language or dialect, like Bretons in Paris, Frisian migrants in Amsterdam and Rotterdam and West-Flemings in Antwerp, to name but a few. Children were, for example, first encouraged and later forced to go to school in order to learn, amongst other things, the national language and to internalize the culture and identity of the evolving nation state. The nation state and the national identity were being defined by including certain subjects into the nation and excluding others (Moch 2012).

Although historians and historical sociologists continue to debate about the social inclusion of urban in-migrants in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it is clear that contemporaries, including politicians, journalists, social observers and some of the leading sociologists of the time became increasingly worried that migrants would turn into an unassimilable segment of the population (Lucassen 2005a). In Germany, fears spread that society would break down as a consequence of heavy urban in-migration (Jackson1997) and in France migrants were increasingly identified as ‘dangerous classes’. Prejudice and discrimination against newcomers were not uncommon, and were related to the fact that migrants were competitors in the labour market. Employers often preferred migrants as they were willing to work for lower income and were believed to be more docile (Van den Borre 2012). On the other hand, like today, migrants often took up filthy, dangerous and unhealthy labour, which natives were unwilling to take up (Lee 1999; Moch 2012).

In addition, like today, migrants clustered in urban areas with relatively cheap housing prices, where they often lived in overcrowded houses with a lack of basic facilities. In a city like Liverpool, Welsh, Scots and Irish migrants lived in their own neighbourhoods, separated from the native population and from each other (Pooley 1977). Italians created their 'little Italy' in cities like Amsterdam and Rotterdam (Chotkowski 2006), while Flemish migrants in the Northern French cities of Lille and Roubaix were so clustered that natives felt like they were abroad when they entered into some of the Flemish neighbourhoods, where hardly any French was spoken (Van den Borre 2012). What was true for international migrants was also highly valid for internal migrants. In Paris, domestic migrants from Brittany and the Auvergne clustered together in areas with high crime rates, frequent suicide, and the government increasingly viewed these migrants as a security thread, as they were believed to be at an increased risk of becoming engaged in revolutionary movements. But complaints also existed about the fact that these migrants kept their own language, dress code, customs and ways of entertainment instead of adapting to the Parisian way of life (Moch 2012).

Although ethnicity increasingly became a dividing line between insiders and outsiders in the nineteenth century, religion remained a very important marker of distinction. Migrants with a different religion were at an increased risk of experiencing segregation. This was true for Italian Catholics in protestant Dutch cities, for Irish Catholics in England and, especially, for Jews in cities ranging from Vienna, Antwerp and Berlin to London. What is true for Muslims today, applied largely to Jews in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and not only in Germany (Lucassen 2005a). The history of Europe is filled with waves of anti-Semitism. One of these waves started after the stock market crash of 1873 (Mckay, Hill & Buckler 2003). From then on, Jews were increasingly the scapegoat for many Europeans.

The importance of the study of migration and social inclusion and exclusion in the past

Although much remains unknown about the social inclusion of migrants in the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it is clear that migration and social inclusion not only started to become challenges after World War Two. For many European cities, especially early-industrial cities, capitals, and port cities, the start of the guest worker era is not such a hard turning point in the history of urban in-migration as is usually assumed. In this respect, Noiriel (1984) showed that Longwy received continuously large waves of migrants in the period 1880-1980. First, predominantly Italians moved to the Northern French city, later Algerians. For the

German Ruhr Valley comparable observations were made. There, initially many Poles settled in the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, while from the 1960s on the number of Turks swiftly increased (Berg 1990; Lucassen 2006c). The same is true for the cities under study in this PhD thesis: Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm. While these cities in the latter half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries received next to large shares of internal migrants, mainly immigrants from neighbouring countries, from the 1960s on these port cities started to receive also massive numbers of migrants from Mediterranean countries, former colonies, refugees and, most recently, waves of Eastern European migrants.

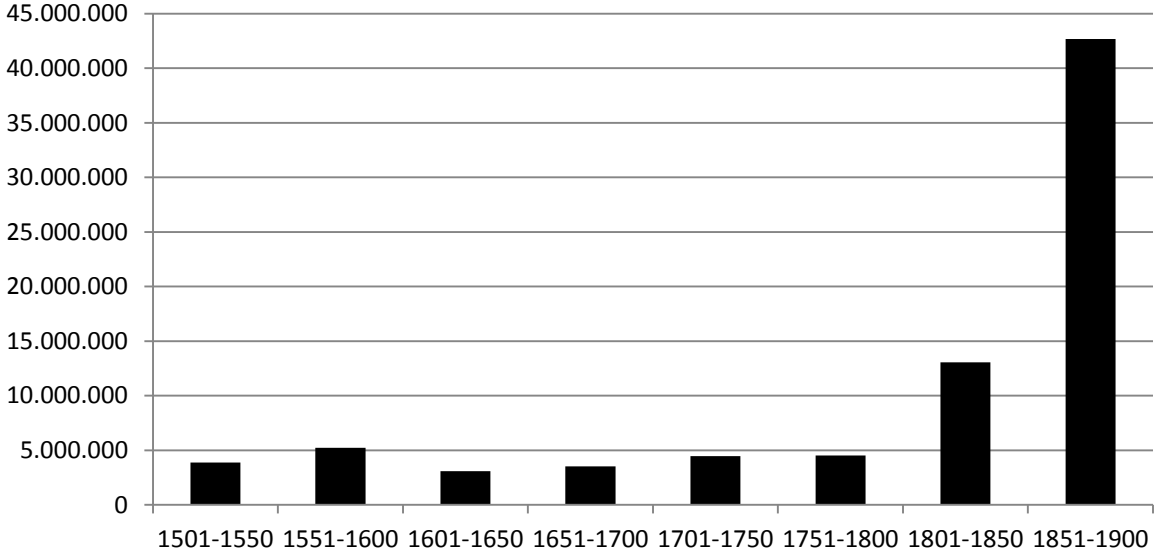
The fact that there are many similarities between the past and today, makes the study of migration and social inclusion in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries relevant beyond the domains of history and historical sociology. Many of the fears about present-day immigration originate from the idea that immigration and the social inclusion of newcomers are new phenomena in Europe. This naïve view is based on clichés about the 'good old days'. Of course, Europe today receives a much more diversified group of migrants, in terms of race, ethnicity, culture, language and religion, but pre-World War Two societies were far from immobile and nation states were no homogenous entities as is often assumed (cf. Geldof 2014). Consequently, like today, migration and social inclusion caused many challenges in the past. The issues are different in some ways, but in others they are strikingly similar. Therefore, one can argue that there are some lessons to be learned from the past. Even if history never repeats itself, there are regularities over time that can lead to a deeper understanding of both the past and the present. In that sense, the adagio of the famous nineteenth-century Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt (2011:8) about the use of history applies also to historical studies of migration and social inclusion: "Through previous experiences, we do not only want to become clever (for the next time), but also wise (forever)."

1 Introduction

1.1 Migration and urbanization in Europe, 1850-1930

In the period 1800-1914 about half of all Europeans left their place of birth during the life course and cities – defined in this PhD thesis as places with at least 10,000 inhabitants - started to attract ever larger numbers of national and international migrants (Moch 2003; Lucassen 2005a). Often immigration rates in cities were higher than today, although the share of foreign migrants was usually lower (Hochstadt 2002; Lucassen & Penninx 1985; Lucassen 2006). Nevertheless, there were already cities with a tremendous number of international migrants. The French textile city of Roubaix, for example, counted some 49,000 Belgians in a total population of 99,799 inhabitants in 1866, which means that about half of the population was of foreign descent (Moch 2003). However, a majority of the migrants in nineteenth-century European cities originated from within the city's direct rural hinterland and this was also the case for the border city of Roubaix. However, the migrant's area of recruitment extended gradually and the average distance to the migrant's place of birth increased and, in the meantime, the number of urban in-migrants continued to grow (Moch 2003; Winter 2009; Livi Bacci 2012). According to estimations by Jan Lucassen & Leo Lucassen (2009; 2011), the total number of urban in-migrants in Europe tripled in the period 1851-1900 compared to the first half of the nineteenth century (graph 1.1).

Graph 1.1: Estimated migration to European cities with more than 10,000 inhabitants, 1500-1900



Source: Lucassen, J. & Lucassen, L. (2009) 'The Mobility Transition Revisited', 361-362.

Rural-to-urban migration, natural population growth - the excess of birth over deaths - and administrative reclassifications (mainly the annexation of suburbs into urban municipalities) drove nineteenth-century urban population growth to the highest rates the world had ever witnessed (Davis 1955; Hohenberg & Lees 1985). This led to dramatic changes in the European landscape and laid the foundation of today's urban system (Bairoch & Goertz 1985). In 1800 about 12% to 13% of the European population lived in cities, by 1910 this percentage had increased to about 44%, with the highest urban concentrations being located in north-western Europe (Clark 2013). The number of cities in Europe with more than 100,000 inhabitants rose from 23 in 1800 to 135 in 1900 (Moch 2003). At the same time, larger cities started to attract a greater share of the migrants and consequently they grew at a faster pace than smaller cities, whereas in the century before 1850 urban in-migration and population growth had been stronger in smaller cities (De Vries 1984; Lenger 2012).

Although urban in-migration and urbanization played an important role throughout Europe during the period of study, significant variations between and within states are observable with respect to the timing, speed, and size of migration and urban growth. In Southern Europe urbanization was much less spectacular than in north-western Europe (Livi Bacci 1999). In England and Belgium urbanization was early and very fast thanks to early industrialization, which led to a massive recruitment of labourers from the countryside (Clark 2013). In France, urbanization rates were also considerable, but the pace was more moderate and so were industrialization and total population growth. However, since emigration in France was relatively small compared to other European nations, the majority of French rural-out-migrants moved to a French city. In Germany urbanization was also rapid, but more balanced over different cities (Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, Munich, Cologne, the cities of the Ruhr area, etc.) compared to England and France, where London and Paris strongly dominated the urban hierarchies. Austria, Switzerland and Sweden were also strongly affected by urban in-migration and urbanization, but the Netherlands and Northern Italy, which had relatively high shares of urban populations around 1800, experienced only slow urbanization during the nineteenth century (Hohenberg & Lees 1985).

That some cities grew faster than others was, apart from differences in the timing and pace of the demographic transition, an outcome of the fact that certain cities were more successful in attracting and keeping migrants than others (De Vries 1984). The structure, size, and growth of the urban labour-market determined, to a large degree, levels of urban in-migration and urban population growth (Lee 1999). In times of economic boom more migrants

came to the city and they were recruited from ever larger distances. In times of economic decay, in-migration rates dropped and the average duration of stay declined, although the area of recruitment usually did not shrink, as the bonds between the city and the hinterland continued to exist. In this respect, Jan de Vries (1994:1990-200) has called migration the linchpin of the urban economy, as cities were able to adjust their labour force according to their economic needs and possibilities.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, capitals, industrial cities and port cities attracted the largest share of migrants and these cities dominated Europe's urban system (Lawton & Lee 2002). Interestingly, these different types of cities grew at different rates and attracted different types of migrants in terms of sex, marital status, occupational profiles, social status, skills, education, work experience, geographic origin and distance (Moch 2003). Generally speaking, textile cities attracted large numbers of rural-born single females, while port cities and centres of heavy industry received especially young rural men, as shipping and labour in coal and steel factories required physical strength (Moch 2003; Winter 2009). Administrative and service centres were characterized by a considerable influx of skilled workers, and higher educated middle-class men - often from an urban background - who filled important posts in administration, trade, banks, insurance companies, etc. They usually moved over long distances within well-defined networks (Greefs 2008b). Administrative and service centres equally attracted lots of domestic servants, due to the large demand for domestic labour in middle-class and elite households (Moch 2003).

The attraction of capital cities led to the rise of metropoles. London, which was the second largest city in the world in 1800 with a population of 861,000 inhabitants (after Beijing with 1.1 million inhabitants), soon became the largest urban conglomeration on earth, reaching a population of 6.5 million inhabitants at the turn of the twentieth century (Chesnais 2009). At the time, London counted almost twice as many inhabitants as Paris (3.3 million inhabitants), Europe's second largest city at the time and third city in the world after New York. Berlin (2.4 million) and Vienna (1.6 million) were the third and fourth largest cities on the European continent and the fourth and sixth largest in the world (Chicago was the fifth largest in the world in 1900) (Hohenberg & Lees 1985; Chesnais 2009).

In addition to capital cities, industrial cities attracted enormous numbers of migrants and, since they often rose out of villages or provincial towns, their development was, in a sense, even more spectacular than that of capital cities. Manchester, the birthplace of the industrial revolution, grew from an over-grown market town of 88,000 inhabitants at the turn of the nineteenth century into the tenth largest city of the world with a population of 1,255,000

inhabitants by 1900 (Rodgers 1961; Chesnais 2009). The development of the urban conglomerations in the Ruhr Area was also impressive. By 1800, Duisburg, Essen and Dortmund had populations of about 4,000 inhabitants each, and the Ruhr Valley was a predominantly agricultural area. By 1910 Duisburg counted 229,483 inhabitants, Essen had a population of 294,653 residents and Dortmund counted 214,226 urban dwellers. By that time, the Ruhr Valley had become one of Europe's largest urban industrial conglomerations with a population of almost 3 million inhabitants (Jackson 1997).

Port cities were the third type of urban conglomeration, receiving large numbers of newcomers. Cities like Bordeaux, Marseille, Le Havre, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Liverpool, Bremen and Hamburg all witnessed strong population growth as a result of strong urban in-migration. These cities functioned as transit ports to other continents, and attracted traders and businessmen of all sorts, who often originated from other port cities (Greefs 1998; Winter 2009). Port cities were also an important destination for unskilled and casual labourers from the direct hinterland, thanks to the large labour demand in shipping and port-related activities (Lawton & Lee 2002). In this respect, Anne Winter (2009) claims that port cities offered better job opportunities for low-skilled rural-to-urban migrants than industrial centres, as heavy port labour required no specific skills or education. This must have certainly been the case for the era before the complex industrial production process was broken down into increasingly smaller repetitive tasks and industrial production still demanded specific training and skills (cf. Hoerder 2002). Whereas port labour might have been attractive for unskilled migrants as it demanded relatively little labour market adjustments, it also created insecurity. Few port labourers were employed from January to December in port activities, and seasonal unemployment was a common trait of port cities. Consequently, port cities were characterized by large in- and outflows of temporary migrants. Some of these waves took the form of seasonal migration (Lawton & Lee 2002; Winter 2009).

Rural-to-urban migration was the outcome of the interplay between pull factors in the city and push factors in the countryside. Growing employment opportunities - and, in the longer run - higher wages and more stable employment - especially in industry - were the most important pull factors in the urban environment. The main push factors in the countryside were decreasing employment opportunities in agriculture and the putting-out system, as well as decreasing income among peasants, rural labourers and farm hands. The latter was the result of an over-supply of rural labourers, caused by strong natural population growth, the decline of the putting-

out system and major innovations in agriculture, which led to strong increases in land and labour productivity (Livi Bacci 2012). While large landowners were able to increase their landholdings, peasants were confronted with capital and land fragmentation, while prices of essential products (in the short run) went up as a result of scarcity (Van den Borre 2012). At the same time, proto-industry - the main alternative to agriculture in the countryside - was in decline, as it was unable to compete with modern urban factories. Consequently, an increasing number of rural dwellers were urged to find employment elsewhere. Although millions of rural out-migrants made their way to other continents, the largest share of the migrants moved to a nearby city (Moch 2003). In that sense, rural-to-urban migration in the period of study was for the majority of the migrants not so much an attempt to improve one's standard of living or achieve upward social mobility, but rather a means of earning a living. In times of agricultural crisis, recession and crop failure, migration acted simply as an escape from starvation (Hoerder 2002).

The mid-nineteenth century increase in rural out-migration and urban in-migration was facilitated by the construction and extension of transportation networks in the form of tram, railway and steamship connections, making it easier, faster and cheaper to travel and move over longer distances. This led, in combination with new and increased means of communication to a 'democratization' of long-distance migration, which became visible, amongst other things, in an increase of international step migration among rural-born women (Greefs & Winter 2015). In addition, the latter half of the nineteenth century was a period of relatively free mobility and settlement (Caestecker 1998; Moch 2003). Crossing administrative borders had become easier and former restrictions on permanent settlement in the form of guild controls and restraints on the obtainment of citizenship, as well as poor law considerations had largely disappeared in Western Europe by the middle of the nineteenth century (Lee 1999). From 1871 onwards, visas were abolished and Europe's borders were open. Governments at the time only wanted to prevent dangerous and destitute migrants from entering and settling down, as such aliens were considered a threat to the public order (Caestecker 1998). However, the period of free mobility and limited state intervention regarding migration did not last forever. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, nation states started to increasingly invigilate and control migration currents, making it more difficult for migrants to cross borders and settle. The First World War and the rise of the Bolshevik regime in Russia increased the fears about international migrants even further and led to further state interventions. Consequently, border controls and visa requirements were reintroduced after World War One. In the 1920s, some European states even

actively tried to curtail economic immigration in order to protect the national labour force (Caestecker 1998).

Whereas push and pull factors, the extensions of transportation networks and the liberal immigration policy of European governments during the latter half of the nineteenth century explain, to a great extent, why urban in-migration accelerated, these factors do not explain why any specific rural dweller moved from his natal village to a nearby city, while some of his/her siblings and neighbours crossed the Atlantic and many other villagers stayed in their birth place. To understand who moved and who stayed, one has to have a look at the characteristics of individual migrants, their families and the local opportunity structure in which they grew up (Mönkediek, Kok & Mandemakers 2015). Migration is indeed a highly selective process (Lucassen 2004). Ever since Ravenstein (1885) formulated his famous 'Laws of Migration', we know that women moved, on average, more often than men during the life course, but the latter moved more frequently over long distances. Women moved more often, as they joined their spouse after marriage, but young single women were also highly mobile as domestic servants, and considerable proportions moved to cities in order to perform industrial labour. Their motives were diverse. Some of their moves can be understood as a part of a larger family strategy of survival among peasants, which aimed to lower costs, diversify risks and generate an extra income. Other young rural women decided more individually to leave the parental household and move to a city. They aimed to earn higher wages and achieve upward mobility or they wanted to emancipate themselves from their families of orientation and enjoy city life (Bras 2003).

Inheritance practices had an important influence on migration decisions too, especially in the case of primogeniture or ultimogeniture, when respectively the oldest or the youngest sibling – mostly a son – inherited the farm of the parents, and the other siblings had to find other ways to make a living. This could imply searching for a spouse who inheriteded farmland or moving to an area where farmland was still abundantly available. However, since tillage land became increasingly scarce during the period of study an increasing number of non-inhereting youngsters tried their luck in the city (Mönkediek, Kok & Mandemakers 2015).

Young people migrated more than older persons, as migration required physical strength. Next, married couples with children were much more sedentary than young childless singles, as the former were more tied to the community in which they lived and moving a whole family was a more far-reaching decision, requiring more planning and more means (Hochstadt 2002; Moch 2003).

Next, migration over longer distance required a certain amount of human capital, including financial means to move and information about the destination. Accordingly, only a minority was able to move over long distances and a majority of those who did so belonged to the middle class and elite (Greefs 1998; Sewell 1985; Kok, Mandemakers & Mönkediek 2014). Long-distance migrants, especially businessmen, moved not randomly, but rather in well-defined networks (Greefs 2008b). In the first half of the nineteenth century, considerable proportions of the business elite in Antwerp originated from other port cities, including Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Hamburg and London, and they moved mainly for commercial reasons (Greefs 1998). As a result of cheaper means of transportation and new communication channels, long-distance migration among the lower classes started to increase in the latter half of the nineteeth century (Greefs & Winter 2015).

Although late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century urbanization was primarily a result of rural-to-urban migration, there was an important counter-current of urban-to-rural migration, as migrants often stayed only temporarily in town, and kept moving back and forth between the city and the countryside (Klep 1981; Jackson 1997; Hochstadt 2002). Among rural-born dwellers there was a certain resistance against urban industrial life (Hochstadt 2002). This was related to the fact that urban living and working conditions during the early phase of industrialization were extremely bad. In the mid-nineteenth century, mortality in cities was higher than in the countryside, as epidemics occurred more frequently in overcrowded and unsanitary areas and cities were polluted by the growing number of factories (Alter & Oris 2001). Likewise, urban industrial labour was not alluring, as it was dangerous and unhealthy and factory wages were low and working hours long. It is striking in this respect that the period of early industrialization went hand in hand with temporary declines in living standards and life-expectancy (Van der Wee & Aerts 1997).

However, in the course of the nineteenth century, urban areas were reorganized and under the pressure of trade unions and labour parties, wages in industry increased and working conditions improved (less working hours, more holidays, etc.) as a result of legal change. Gradually, cities became more attractive, as industrial labour offered more permanent employment and living conditions improved. As a result, more and more former rural dwellers decided to settle on a more permanent basis in the urban environment (McKay, Hill & Buckler 2003).

Although often the negative consequences of urban in-migration are stretched in the literature, migration had many important positive effects for societies at the time. Due to high urban mortality, migration was until about the end of the nineteenth century necessary to

maintain the numbers of city dwellers and to realize population growth (Galley 1995). Lower educated newcomers provided the (cheap) manpower, necessary to make the industrial revolution a success. Middle and higher educated migrants brought in new ideas, which led to innovation and the spread of new technologies. It was thanks to migrants like John Cockerill, that the industrial revolution spread from England to Continental Europe. Return migration from England or the United States to Continental Europe was important too, as it also made sure that new technologies were implemented in the home country (Grönberg 2003). It is therefore not surprising that employers were usually very positive about the arrival of migrants (Van den Borre 2012).

1.2 The fate of urban in-migrants, a state of the art

While the causes of increased urban in-migration are well-known, less is known for certain about the fate of nineteenth-century urban newcomers. What is clear is that, like today, contemporary observers were aware of the arrival of ever growing numbers of migrants in urban areas and that many feared the consequences (Lucassen 2005a; Lucassen, Feldman & Olthmer 2006; Moch 2003). Urban in-migrants in Europe and North America were believed to have been disproportionately involved in poverty, alcohol abuse, crime and prostitution (Moch 2003). In Rotterdam, for example, newspapers reported constantly on problems which were (believed to be) caused by urban in-migrants. Consequently, natives felt unsafe and had negative attitudes towards urban in-migrants (Manneke 1998). Such negative feelings were reinforced by the fact that migrants competed for jobs and housing, that they were often willing to work for lower salaries and were usually favoured by employers (Van den Borre 2012). Moreover, as newcomers were perceived as ‘strangers’ or ‘outsiders’, all kinds of prejudices against them existed, especially against non-nationals, but also against (domestic) rural-to-urban migrants and against those who practiced another religion (Van de Putte 2003). Migrants were often accused of ‘moral decay’ and of the spread of immoral behaviour (Manneke 1998). Also, fears existed that migrants would introduce revolutionary ideas or that immigrants acted as spies for the government of their country of origin, and would therefore cause a threat to national security (Schrover 2002; Moch 2012). In addition, city councils and governments worried that needy immigrants would arrive en masse and would claim financial support from the authorities. That is why the authorities issued harsh restrictions on settlement and citizenship (Innes, King & Winter 2013) In addition, it was feared that immigration from neighbouring

countries would ultimately lead to an annexation of the country by its neighbour or that this would lead to the spread of other religions than the dominant one (Schrover 2002). At the same time, migrants were often afraid of natives, as they realized that they were being perceived as competitors, intruders, beggars, spies, etc. These fears were not undeserved, since anti-immigrant sentiments and hostility from time to time led to violence, ranging from individual attacks on migrants to nation-wide riots (Panayi 1994).

Worries about the consequences of heavy urban in-migration prevailed not only among journalists, politicians and the wider public, but also among some of the most renowned sociologists of the time. Ferdinand Tönnies, Georg Simmel and Max Weber, who turned the city into a scholarly object of study, stressed that a diametric difference existed between preindustrial rural and urban industrial societies (Jackson 1997). According to these founding fathers of sociology, preindustrial rural societies (what Tönnies referred to as *Gemeinschaft*) were characterized by extended families and close social and economic relations continued to exist among the members of those families throughout the individual's life course. Religion, as well as customs and habits regulated social life in the village and solidarity among villagers was essential (Jackson 1997). Urban industrial societies (which came closest to what Tönnies described as *Gesellschaft*) were, by contrast, characterized by nuclear families and kinship ties weakened as the physical distance among the members increased and economic forces became more important. Cities were perceived as places where life was faster, more organized, more bureaucratic and where contrary to the anonymity of village life, chaos, loneliness and confusion were prevalent (Puschmann & Solli 2014). Solidarity as well as social control were weaker in cities than in villages and the construction of social networks was harder in the urban environment, especially for newcomers. (Liang 2008). City life was more individualistic and the construction of a personal identity became necessary. Furthermore, the influence of religion and religious customs and habits declined. Accordingly, Tönnies, Simmel & Weber feared that rural-to-urban migration would weaken Germany in the long run and could lead to revolutionary movements. They feared that Germany would turn into a "fragmented, impersonal, anonymous association of alienated persons" (Jackson 1997:19).

In France, Ėmile Durkheim drew a connection between modernization, urbanization, industrialization, individualization, secularization and what he called *anomie,* a form of social disorganization resulting from a mismatch between social norms and individuals' behaviour, causing a weakening in the bonds between individuals (Matthijs 1983). In Durkheim's view, society offered less moral guidance to individuals, as a consequence of strong social change, transforming a society from one type of social order to another. More specifically, Durkheim

referred to the transition from a rural agricultural society with limited specialization, characterized by *mechanical* solidarity, to an urban industrial society with high specialization in which *organic* solidarity prevailed. This transformation went hand in hand with a (temporary) decline in social cohesion, and was believed to have led, amongst other things, to an increased risk of family disruptions and a rise in suicide rates (Willis 1982). In this way, Durkheim connected urban in-migration and marginalization to suicide (Sennett 2006).

In the United States, fears about heavy urban in-migration culminated in the writings of the Chicago School of Sociology whose adherents focused largely on the incorporation process of Southern and Eastern European rural dwellers in the expanding cities of the US (Park 1928; Park & Burghess 1925; Thomas & Znaniecki 1918; Thomas, Park & Miller 1921; Wirth 1928). This group of scholars, who were obviously inspired by the work of the German and French founding fathers of sociology, emphasized that urban in-migrants were former rural dwellers, driven from their land by population pressure and agricultural crisis. Upon their arrival in the urban environment, these peasants, who lacked the skills, schooling and social networks necessary to adapt and thrive in a city, found themselves in a struggle for survival and often ended up in ghettos or poor suburbs. Their marginal position in urban society inclined them to commit crimes and to perform other forms of deviant behaviour like prostitution and heavy drinking. According to Park (1928), the challenge for migrants was to live in two diverse cultural groups. This, he believed, led to inner conflict, an 'unstable character' and a more or less permanent identity crisis which he believed was the main cause of migrants' marginalization: Migrants no longer belonged to the cultural group they originated from and they did not yet belong to the dominant cultural group of the receiving society. Consequently, they were perceived in both groups as outsiders.

The Chicago School of Sociology has been very influential in the field of migration and adaptation studies. The American historian of migration Oscar Handlin, as well as the American sociologist Milton Gordon, have, for example, been highly influenced by it. Handlin was in many respects more negative about the social inclusion process than members of the Chicago School of Sociology themselves. He elaborated the concept of the 'uprooted peasant'. He believed that leaving the (European) natal village and moving to a (US) city had been a process with disruptive effects on the migrants involved: "[…] old roots were sundered, before the new were established […]" (Handlin 1973:6). Handlin treated migration from the European countryside to American cities as a "history of alienation and its consequences" (Handlin 1973:4). This alienation revealed itself in "broken homes, interruptions of family life,

separation from known surroundings, the becoming of a foreigner and ceasing to belong" (Handlin 1973:4). In Handlin's view, the European peasants in the US had exchanged their familiar environment for a faceless urban society in which they had to adapt to customs and values, which were alien to them.

Also outside the United States, the discourse of the Chicago School has been adopted. Striking examples are Chevalier's (1958) 'Labouring Classes and Dangerous Classes in Paris', studies by Bouman and Bouman (1955) on Rotterdam and by Catharina Lis (1986) on Antwerp. Chevalier claimed that strong rural-to-urban migration towards Paris in the first half of the nineteenth century had created, what he called, 'urban pathology': poverty, illness, crime, illegitimacy, suicide and political violence. Bouman and Bouman (1955) concluded on the basis of interviews with migrants and personal statements of people who had moved to Rotterdam after 1880, that social inclusion had been anything but an easy-going process among former peasants. Dutch rural migrants - like immigrants - had a bad reputation and were humiliated because of their deviant dialect and their rural lifestyle. In the view of Bouman and Bouman, poverty and misery were normal states of affairs among the recently arrived rural-to-urban migrants in Rotterdam. Unprepared for the urban labour market and with little or no financial resources at their disposal the uprooted peasants became involved in a struggle for survival upon their arrival in the city. As day labourers in the port, in construction work, or other sectors of the urban economy demanding low-skilled labour, these urban in-migrants could hardly make a living. Again, the problems were enormously enlarged by the fact that peasants had lost their social network at the moment they left their (natal) village. However, in contrast with Handlin, Bouman and Bouman seem to have believed more in the mutual help among rural-to-urban migrants. Some newcomers also received help from native born dwellers, Bouman and Bouman alleged. Nevertheless, in their view still many more city dwellers became isolated.

Catharina Lis (1986) showed how the local authorities in Antwerp in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had unsuccessfully tried to stop the mass arrival of poor country dwellers, who were unable to sustain themselves and who lived on public support. She argued that rural-to-urban migrants were uprooted peasants who had moved to Antwerp, because they had no possibility to make a living in the countryside. Push factors had contributed much more to their move from the countryside to Antwerp than pull factors. In Antwerp, rural-to-urban migrants ended up in overpriced hovels in overcrowded ghettos and worked often as casual labourers in the port. Many had problems of making ends meet, but according to Lis only a minority supported themselves by begging, prostitution and theft. She also reached the opinion

that solidarity among networks of (non-native) slum dwellers and other poor city dwellers offered more mutual help and solidarity than the family.

From the 1970s on, under the influence of the *Annales* School in France and the *New Economic History* in the US, more quantitative approaches to nineteenth- and early twentieth-century urban in-migration, which emphasized the selectivity of migration, emerged. Good examples are Leslie Page Moch's (1983) 'Paths to the City' on Nimes, William Sewell's (1985) 'Structure and Mobility' on Marseille, James Jackson's investigations on the German Ruhr area (Jackson 1982; 1997) and studies on Rotterdam by Leo Lucassen (2004; 2005). These studies, built on new insights including, most importantly, that premodern societies had been far from immobile societies, and that nuclear rather than extended households had been the predominant family type in Western European pre-industrial societies (Puschmann & Solli 2014). Next, Tamara Hareven (1982) found that many French Canadian families in the American textile city of Manchester had been extended, and that their move to an industrial city had not led to a dismantling of family relations. Close ties among the family members continued to exist in the urban industrial environment. Consequently, the disrupting effect of rural-to-urban migration, urbanization and industrialization were being played down. Charles Tilly and Harald Brown (1969) were among the first to seriously call into question what came to be known as the 'theory of social breakdown' (Hareven 1982).

In the 1980s the first empirical studies (Moch 1983; Sewell 1985) saw the light, challenging the negative findings of the scholars of the Chicago School and their followers. In those studies, as well in later studies by James Jackson (1997) and Leo Lucassen (2002; 2005) the conclusion was reached that urban in-migrants were by no means marginal city dwellers. Scholars who argue that migration was a selective process posit that migrants were rather the best educated, most dynamic and most enterprising urban inhabitants. These urban newcomers did not move to (urban) areas where they had no friends or relatives. In fact, thanks to their human capital, these migrants became relatively easily incorporated into the host city. Equally, most of the urban in-migrants did not lose their social network of friends and family in the countryside. After all, a majority of rural-to-urban migrants were born in the city's direct rural hinterland. This allowed them to stay in touch with people in their home village. Moreover, geographic proximity suggested that cultural differences between the village of birth and the city of settlement might have been rather small (Sewell 1985). Also, labour market adaptation was a relatively smooth process if we may believe these scholars. Leo Lucassen (2002) found,

for example, that urban in-migrants in Rotterdam had even higher chances of upward social mobility than native urban dwellers. For Marseille, Sewell (1985) reached the conclusion that migrants made more use of new opportunities change brought about and thus enjoyed higher chances of climbing up the social ladder.

Leo Lucassen (2004) has attempted to reconcile the polarized views - the optimistic and the pessimistic - on the social inclusion of urban in-migrants. By dividing groups of migrants into 'stayers' and 'leavers', he argues that 'successful' and 'unsuccessful' migrants co-existed. According to Lucassen, the positive picture of migrants that he uncovered corresponds with the concept of stayers, while the negative image described by the scholars of the Chicago School of Sociology matches the idea of leavers. According to Lucassen, leavers lacked the skills, financial resources and the social network needed to become established in a city. Unable to find a good job, a decent living location and a suitable marriage partner, these migrants moved on in order to try to fulfil their dreams elsewhere. This gloomy picture on the fate of leavers comes close to the so-called *floating proletariat thesis*, which was originally described by Stephan Thernstrom (1973). According to Thernstrom, most of the nineteenth century urban in-migrants in American cities were low-skilled labourers and they enjoyed considerably fewer chances than the native population to find permanent employment and to climb up the social ladder. As a kind of 'underclass' they were constantly on the move in order to find new and better employment opportunities, but their efforts were largely unsuccessful. We find the same picture in David Crew's (1979) social history of the German city of Bochum.

Joseph Ferrie's (1999) results on the mid-nineteenth century US tell a different story. In 'Yankeys Now: immigrants in the Antebellum US, 1840-1860', Ferrie took a sample from passenger lists of migrants who arrived between 1840 and 1850 in New York and tried to link these migrants to the 1850 and 1860 US censuses. In this way, he was able to study social mobility and wealth accumulation among stayers and leavers. He found both more upward and more downward mobility among migrants than previous studies, which were only able to analyze the behaviour of stayers. However, according to Ferrie, low-skilled migrants were more successful if they moved than if they stayed, as leavers were more likely to climb up the social ladder and to accumulate wealth. This was especially true if they moved to the Midwest.

1.3 Statement of the problem

As we have seen in the previous sections, research on the social inclusion of urban in-migrants in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has led to inconsistent results. On the one hand, there is the negative picture produced by members of the Chicago School of Sociology, who stress, on the basis of mainly qualitative evidence, that a majority of the migrants were marginalized and ended up on the edge of urban society. On the other hand, there is a set of quantitative studies inspired by the *Annales School* in France and the *New Economic History* in the United States, which reached the conclusion that for the majority of the urban in-migrants social inclusion was a smooth process. Leo Lucassen has stated that the optimistic picture applies to stayers, while the pessimistic picture fits the leavers. However, a lack of source material has meant that especially leavers have been largely excluded from quantitative migration research, as most of the existing historical studies on the incorporation of migrations are based on cross-sectional sources like population censuses and marriage certificates. This makes it extremely complicated to follow migrants through time and space. Joseph Ferrie's 'Yankeys Now' is an exception. However, it is questionable whether the optimistic results about leavers would apply to late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Europe, where there was no booming Midwest in which the majority of the population consisted of newcomers, and where there was a huge supply of land and jobs. Next, the question is what happened to those migrants that Ferrie did not trace in subsequent censuses.

What is even more problematic about most existing studies is the fact that they contain only a very small share of the total number of migrants as most of the newcomers arrived after a census was carried out and left before a new one was taken. The same is more or less true for sources like marriage certificates. Since leavers stayed only for relatively short periods of time in the city, their chance of ending up in the marriage certificates - the main source of these studies - was considerably smaller than for stayers (Lesger, Lucassen & Schrover 2002). Moreover, we need to take into account that the migrants' access to the marriage market was limited (Lee 1999; Van Poppel 1992; Oris 2000; Kok 2006a; Moreels & Matthijs 2011). We may expect, therefore, that the results of the existing quantitative studies on European cities are biased towards migrants who stayed for longer periods of time in the city, who married there and who became relatively easily incorporated.

The results of the Chicago School, by contrast, seem to be biased towards 'unsuccessful' migrants. This is a consequence of the fact that these scholars focused more or

less exclusively on problems migrants encountered. Qualitative source material was sought to confirm the hypothesis that migrants became uprooted upon arrival in a city. Indeed, the empirical research by adherents of the Chicago School of Sociology was largely guided by the social problems mass in-migration caused in their own city (Alba & Nee 2003). This is even truer for the study by Bouman & Bouman (1955), as they explicitly addressed themselves towards migrants who had encountered adaptation problems. These challenges were probably real, but not everybody encountered the same type of problems to the same degree and certain migrants might have become silently included into mainstream society, but they were not part of the examination.

Next, most studies have analyzed the incorporation of migrants in one single city, while different cities attracted different types of migrants and offered different opportunity structures. Accordingly, we are in need of a more representative picture of the social inclusion process of migrants in European cities, which takes the different profiles of the migrants and various opportunity structures into account.

1.4 Aims of the study and research questions

The aim of this PhD thesis is to re-examine the above described debate on the fate of urban in-migrants in three different north-western European cities - Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm - in the period 1850-1930 with the help of new data and new approaches. The main research question is:

How did processes of social inclusion among migrants evolve in Northwestern European port cities in the period 1850-1930?

In order to answer this question, we make use of longitudinal data and techniques. The creation of large historical population databases, which systematically store and link – at an individual level – life events such as births, marriages, divorces, deaths, but also migration and occupational changes of thousands of people, has made it possible, for the first time, to study historical population movements from a life course perspective. The way in which the longitudinal data contained in these datasets is collected allows us to analyze the timing and likelihood of social, economic and demographic events of natives and first-generation migrants in a comparative perspective. Both stayers and leavers can be incorporated into the analysis, as both groups are covered by the data. In particular event history analysis can adequately deal

with problems related to the information trail going cold at the moment that migrants (or natives) left the area of observation. In some cases, we are even able to follow them after they had left the city of settlement. This brings us to two important subquestions in this PhD thesis:

(1) Who became included into the receiving urban societies, and who remained excluded?
(2) Were the chances of social inclusion better for stayers compared to leavers?

We will follow different groups of migrants from the moment they arrive in the port city and compare their experiences, opportunities and performances among each other and – in the case of social mobility and adult mortality – also with the native population. Moreover, we will compare the experiences of migrants across the three cities, as the social inclusion and exclusion trajectories might have differed considerably between Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm, given their divergent urban functions, opportunity structures, and the various profiles of migrants they attracted. Another important subquestion relates to the differences between the three cities and the historical context in which migration and social inclusion took place:

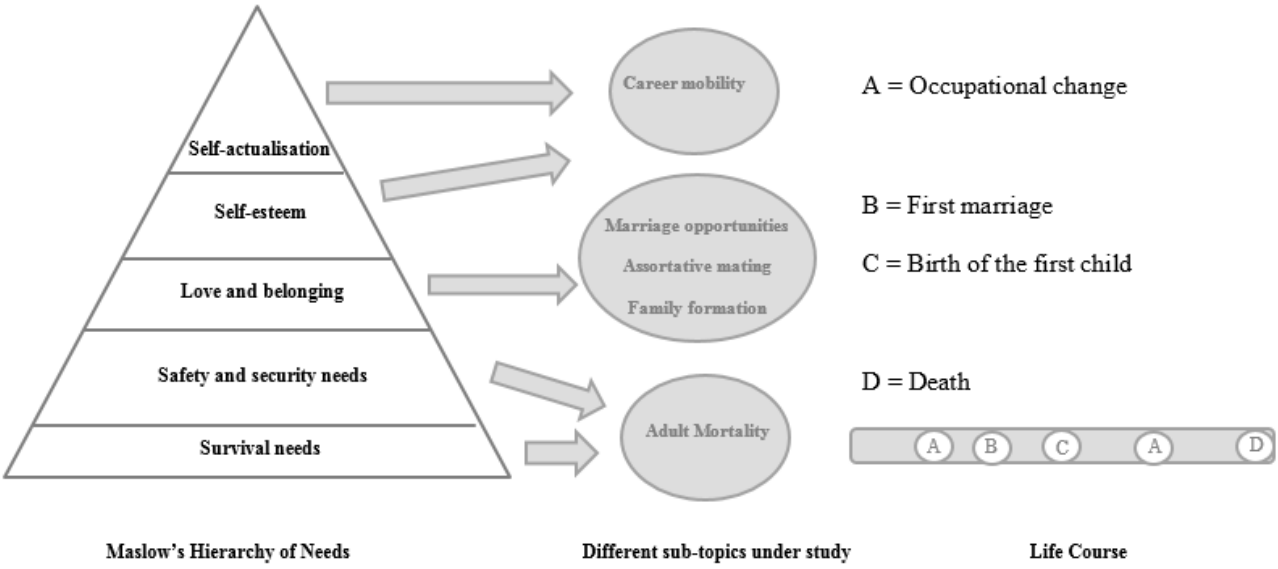
(3) Was social inclusion in certain port cities easier to attain than in others? And if so, why?

We are not only interested in the paths of incorporation of different groups of migrants, but also in the underlying processes and mechanisms. Existing literature teaches us that the incorporation process of migrants is, amongst other things, affected by the economic resources, skills, cultural baggage, social capital, and experiences individual migrants have at their disposal upon arrival in a city; but, it is also related to the local opportunity structure and the level of societal openness migrants encounter in the receiving urban society (Morawska 1996; Alba & Nee 2003; Lucassen 2005a). In this PhD thesis we focus mostly on the personal features of the migrants, especially on their demographic characteristics (sex, birth cohort, age at arrival, civil status, duration of stay and the area of settlement within the city), social and economic capital (occupation and social status), cultural capital (language, country and region of origin, rural versus urban birth place, distance to birth place), and their sexual capital (age). This bring us to another important subquestion of this research:

(4) Did certain characteristics of the migrants facilitate or hamper social inclusion?

In order to answer our research questions, we study five main sociological topics, which are well covered by the data, and which together can provide a genuine insight into processes of social inclusion and exclusion among migrants across the three cities: (1) marriage opportunities, (2) family formation, (3) patterns of assortative mating, (4) career mobility and (5) and later-life mortality. By covering these different subtopics, we aim to get a better idea of various life chances of migrants and natives in the Weberian sense of the word (Weber 2010), i.e. we evaluate to what degree migrants and natives were able to satisfy different needs.

Figure 1.1 The relationship between the needs of migrants and natives, the different subjects under study and life course events



The selection of the subtopics in this PhD thesis allows us to deal more or less with the main categories of needs of human beings, as outlined originally by Abraham Maslow (1943; 1953), whithout assuming that lower ordered needs, necessarilty have to be satisfied before higher ordered needs will appear (cf. Tay & Diener 2011). In that sens, later-life mortality gives us an idea about the degree to which migrants and natives were able to fulfill survival, safety and security needs. Marriage opportunities, family formation and patterns of assortative mating together cover needs related to love and belonging. Finally, career mobility informs us about self-esteem and to a certain degree also about self-actualization. All these different categories of needs are not only related to different domains of society, namely the marriage market, reproduction, the private realm of personal relations, the labour market and health(care), but also to different spells and transitions in the life course of migrants and natives; most

importantly marriage, the birth of the first child, occupational change and death. The complex interrelationships are visualized in figure 1.1.

By using a diverse set of proxies of social inclusion for different societal domains, which affected different stages and transitions in the life course, we aim to get a more comprehensive picture of the incorporation of migrants in European port cities in the latter half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. After all, social inclusion is likely to have followed different paths and consequently have resulted in different outcomes in different domains of life. Certain groups of migrants might, for example, have become easily incorporated into the labour market and, accordingly, have enjoyed major upward social mobility; but, these newcomers might have lived segregated lives, as they had their most important relations in life with people from in their own group and lived in separate neighbourhoods.

Table 1.1: An overview of the topics of study, its relations with the life course and the different aspects of social in- and exclusion

Topic of study	Life course event	Domain of inclusion or exclusion
Marriage opportunities	First marriage	Access to the marriage market
Family formation	Transition to parenthood	Access to reproduction
Assortative mating	First marriage	Inclusion into other groups
Career mobility	Occupational change	Inclusion in the labour market
Adult mortality	Death	Exclusion with health consequences

The different topics in this PhD thesis cover not only different needs of migrants and natives, they cover also different forms of social inclusion and exclusion (see table 1.1). The likelihood and timing of the first marriage and the birth of the first child among migrants who settled as singles in the city give an impression about the migrant's access to marriage and reproduction. Finding a partner, setting up an independent household, becoming engaged, getting married and becoming a parent were some of the most important transitions in the life course of individuals in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Europe, which were closely linked to other major events like leaving home, becoming a head of household and inheritance transmission (Dribe, Manfredini & Oris 2014). Although marriage and family formation were highly valued, the road to marriage and reproduction was hampered for certain groups of migrants in society as they were unable to find a marriage partner or a job which gave them the financial means to marry and raise a family (Kok 2006a; Lee 1999; Oris 2000; Van Poppel 1992). Legal

restrictions could also form a serious obstacle (Schumacher, Ryczkowska & Perroux 2007). Access to the marriage market was particularly important for migrants, since these newcomers had left their home town at a time when there was no social welfare state like today and people had to rely on assistance from family and friends in times of trouble.

By studying patterns of assortative mating by geographic origin among migrants who settled as singles in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm we get an idea about the degree to which migrants mixed with natives and other migrant groups, and which individual characteristics fostered or hampered the crossing of groups boundaries. Marriages between migrants and other groups - natives and individuals from distinct migrant groups - in the receiving society show that migrants have frequent contact outside their own group and that they share the most intimate relationships in their life with members from other social groups (Schrover 2005). It also shows that migrants are being accepted as social equals by the members of those other groups (Kalmijn 1998). In the long run, intermarriage leads to the inclusion of migrants into other groups. As a result, group boundaries become blurred and ultimately they will fade away.

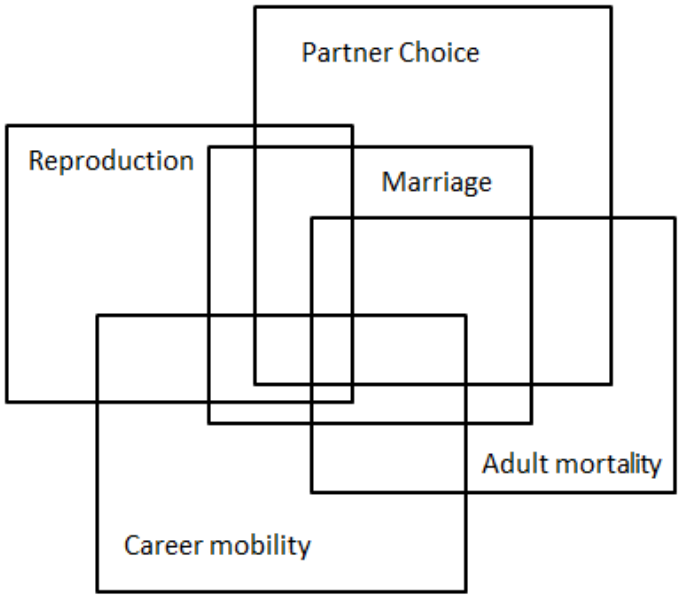
By studying the position of migrants in the labour market compared to natives and studying the career mobility of both social groups, we obtain a good indication of their social inclusion in the labour market. If migrants were able to quickly ascend the social ladder and reach similar position as natives, it shows that their inclusion in the labour market was a relatively easy-going process, while immobility and downward mobility suggested that migrants had a difficult time becoming included into the labour market. This could be a result of limited human capital - lack of skills, experience, the lack of a social network, etc. - but it might also be a result of limited openness of the labour market to newcomers. The latter would point to job discrimination, of the type in which natives reserve the best jobs for members of their own group.

Finally, we will investigate mortality differences between migrants and natives. Although theoretical studies have pointed to the importance of mortality data for the study of social inclusion and exclusion of migrants, empirical studies using such data to analyze processes of social inclusion and exclusion are scarce (e.g. Berman & Phillips 2000; Marmot 2005). We have developed an approach that allows us to trace health disadvantages among migrants resulting from social exclusion with the help of mortality data. We will dig deeper into the causes of mortality differences between migrants and natives, and we will identify sub-groups of migrants with excess mortality. We will try to explain why these migrants had a worse health profile than natives and other groups of migrants. Subsequently, we will analyze what

happened with the mortality risks of leavers, by analyzing their mortality risks after they had left the city of investigation.

Although we study each sub-topic separately in the individual chapters, the topics are in fact highly interrelated (see figure 1.2) and were likely to have created path dependent processes of social inclusion. The choice of a partner influenced, for instance, the chances in the marriage and labour market. Next, partner choice and marriage also had an impact on the chances of family formation, and it could be a vehicle of upward or downward mobility, but it was also interrelated with the health and mortality of adults. There were many potential causal pathways. Migrants with a bad health profile, for instance, most likely had difficulties in finding a job in the labour market and pursuing a career. However, bad health might also have been a consequence of social exclusion in the labour market. Bad health and limited chances in the labour market, in turn, limited the chances of finding a partner, marrying and starting a family.

Figure 1.2: The interdependence of the five sociological topics, which function as proxies of social in- and exclusion of migrants



1.5 Organization of the dissertation

In chapter 2 the most important theoretical approaches regarding the incorporation of migrants in host society are being reviewed. Next, the life course approach to processes of social inclusion and exclusion is elucidated. We will describe and explain the applied methodology

and subsequently we will describe the data we used for our investigation. The strengths and limitations of the individual databases will be discussed, as well as issues related to the comparability.

Chapter 3 is devoted to the research context. We will explain why we chose to study processes of social inclusion and exclusion in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm in the period 1850-1930. Then, the demographic and socio-economic and political context of all three port cities is discussed and compared to each other as far as it affected the arrival and inclusion of urban in-migrants.

In chapter 4 the road to marriage and family formation among migrants is studied. During the latter half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, marriage and the family were the cornerstone of society and people who remained permanently unmarried experienced all kind of socio-economic disadvantages and even experienced stigma (Perrot 1987). In Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm - as in most other Western European cities at the time - migrants had less access to marriage and reproduction. We will explore which personal characteristics of single internal migrants increased or decreased their likelihood of getting married, making use of a binomial logistic regression. Subsequently, we turn to event history analysis to model the road to marriage and reproduction among internal and international migrants in Antwerp and Stockholm.

In chapter 5 we analyze patterns of assortative mating by geographic origin of migrants, who moved as singles to Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm. Whereas previous studies on partner choice among migrants have focussed almost exclusively on marriages between migrants and natives, we consider it informative to also study different types of marriages, and to relate partner choices to marriage opportunities, as they have been studied in chapter 4. Accordingly, we develop a model which links four different outcomes related to meeting and mating to four different acculturation trajectories, which together form a sliding scale in terms of social inclusion and exclusion. We distinguish between migrant groups who married to natives (assimilation), migrants who married a migrant from the same geographic background (separation), migrant groups who married with a migrant from a different geographic background (integration) and migrants who stayed single (marginalization). First, we analyze the likelihood of marrying outside the own group (with a native or with a migrant from a different background) versus marrying within the same group (partner of the same geographic origin), making use of a multinomial logistic regression. In the next step, we include also migrants who stayed single into the analysis, in order to take into account the interdependency between marriage opportunities and patterns of assortative mating by geographic origin. For

the first analysis we use a multinomial logistic model for internal migrants in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm, with migrants who married within their own group as the reference category. Next, we use a competing risk model for internal and international migrants Antwerp.

In chapter 6 we analyze the career mobility of internal and international migrants and compare it to the labour market mobility of natives. Social mobility is a strong indicator of social inclusion in the labour market. We will reconstruct the social positions and careers of migrant and native men with the help occupational titles, which were coded into HISCO (Van Leeuwen, Maas & Miles 2002) and recoded into HISCAM, an occupation-based stratification system for Western countries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Lambert et al. 2013). Next, we use multilevel growth models to study the career mobility of male internal migrants in all three cities, in comparison to that of the native population. This is a new approach to social mobility in the past based on the idea that occupational status grows with experience on the job market (Schulz & Maas 2010). This technique is specifically designed to tackle problems related to the registration of occupational titles in population registers.

In chapter 7 we focus on the health and longevity of adult migrants in comparison to natives. Both for contemporary and past societies it has been shown that migrants have, on average, lower mortality risks and higher life expectancy than natives. We will evaluate whether such a 'healthy migrant effect' existed also in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm during the period of study and explore the underlying causes. The focus will be on the influence of the early life environment and mobility on later life mortality outcomes. Next, we will use mortality statistics as a heuristic tool to detect health disadvantages among migrants, resulting from social exclusion. Several migrant groups who faced excess mortality are identified and we explain why the health of these migrants was worse compared to that of natives and other migrants. We will make use of Gompertz proportional hazard models.

In chapter 8 mortality risks are compared between stayers and leavers among internal migrants in Rotterdam. Certain studies have argued that the 'healthy migrant effect' is a result of selective out-migration of the sick and elderly and those migrants who were unable to adapt to and endure harsh working and living conditions. We will test this so-called salmon bias hypothesis by incorporating life course information in the analysis on those internal migrants who left Rotterdam. Among the leavers a distinction is being made between migrants who left to another destination and those who returned to their home town.

2 Theory, Methodology and Data

2.1 Theories of migrant adaptation and incorporation

Many different theoretical approaches regarding adaptation and the incorporation of migrants into host societies exist. We will review some of the most influential and elucidate our own approach in more detail, highlighting both advantages and disadvantages. Most theories were developed in the US and Canada, and subsequently found their way into the European literature, although often with slightly adjusted terminology. In European studies the concept of assimilation is, for example, frequently replaced by integration. This easily leads to confusion, since integration is then used as an equivalent of assimilation, while in other instances it refers to a process in which migrants become incorporated into the host society, but maintain their heritage culture and identity (Schneider & Crul 2012). For the sake of conceptual clarity we stick to the original North-American terminology and do not use the concept of integration as synonymous with assimilation.

Classic assimilation theory developed within the Chicago School of Sociology. According to its adherents, migrants' adaptation process is unidirectional, irreversible and has, in the end, a single possible outcome: full assimilation of the migrant group into the dominant native group in the receiving society (Alba & Nee 2003; Ngo 2008). Migrants are believed to change their behaviour, their identity, norms and values, feelings of belonging, etc. in such a way that they increasingly resemble natives, while the latter remain largely unaffected by the process (see for example Warner & Srole 1945; Gordon 1964). It might take several generations, but, ultimately, migrants and natives become indistinguishable from each other. The duration of the process is dependent of how dissimilar the migrant group is from the native population in terms of, especially, race, ethnicity, culture and religion.

Classic assimilation theory, although highly influential, has been criticized on several grounds. First, certain studies contain racist views, which explicitly or implicitly assume that the dominant ethnic group is superior to minority groups (Alba & Nee 2003; Portes & Rumbaut 2014). Second, in the long run, classic assimilation theory leaves no room for the existence of minority groups as cultural distinctiveness is perceived as mainly negative and only of a temporary nature. Moreover, classic assimilation theorists assume that in the past there was no cultural diversity, thereby denying the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious heterogeneity of historical societies (Alba & Nee 2003; Glazer 1993).

Segmented assimilation theory developed as a reaction to classic assimilation theory in the 1990s during a discussion in which the adaptation process of recent Asian and Latin-American immigrant groups in the US was compared to the adjustment process of older European immigrant groups (Yu & Greenman 2011). According to Portes and Zhou (1993) -

the founders of segmented assimilation theory - the adaptation of more recent groups of immigrants in the US is different from that of previous migrant groups, because even if contemporary migrants leave their former lifestyle behind and mingle with 'native' white Americans, their ethnic and racial distinctiveness stays visible. Moreover, the transition from industrial to post-industrial societies is believed to have led to more limited opportunities for social upward mobility among second-generation immigrants. As attempts to assimilate into white mainstream society might not lead to social and economic success, different ways of adaptation in their own community in the inner city are sought and found. Consequently, assimilation can follow several paths: conventional upward or 'straight-line' assimilation, but also downward assimilation, as well as selective assimilation (Portes & Zhou 1993; Xie & Greenman 2011).

As criticism of the classic assimilation paradigm grew, some scholars have tried to revive the old concept of assimilation, by reformulating some of the most criticized aspects related to it and by providing evidence that assimilation is still the most common outcome of contemporary immigration processes (Morawska 1994; Alba & Nee 2003). Some of the most prominent defenders of the concept of assimilation are Richard Alba and Victor Nee (2003). In their book *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration*, they underline that assimilation not only changes the immigrant group, but also the host society. Ethnic feasts like the German Oktoberfest in Milwaukee or St Patrick's Day in Boston are, for example, no longer exclusively celebrated by Americans of, respectively, German or Irish origin, as these feasts have taken root far outside these ethnic communities and have become part of American culture. The same is true for food, as pizza and Chinese food have, for instance, become part of American food culture. In this way, a convergence between the dominant ethnic groups and the new immigrants groups is taking place, as both groups change their behaviour towards each other. In the past, assimilation was the 'master trend' in American society, and although more recent newcomers might be less affected by it than previous groups of newcomers, Alba and Nee emphasize that assimilation will continue to affect newcomer's (and natives') going and doing.

We find another influential theoretical approach to adaptation and incorporation in the work of John Berry (1997; 2006; 2013). This Canadian cross-cultural psychologist uses the concept of *acculturation*. This refers to processes of adaptation, which start as a result of intercultural contact. For our purposes, the concept refers to the adaptation process that starts when migrants cross a cultural border. Enculturation, by contrast, refers to the process in which

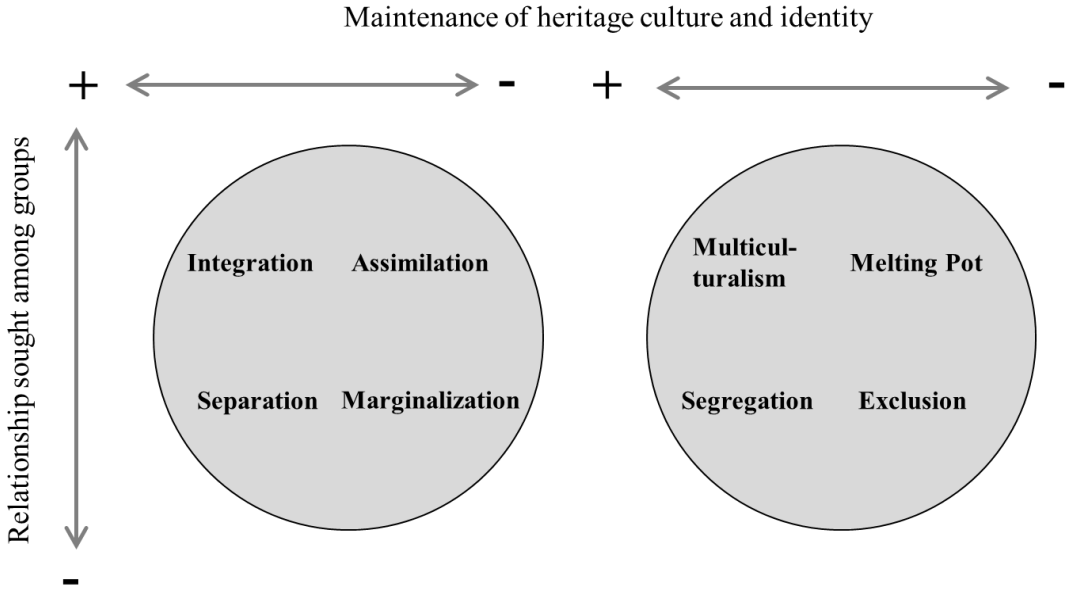
a person or group obtains its primary culture on the basis of socialization (Kim & Omizo 2006; Park, Kim, Chiang & Ju 2010). It is important to note that the concept of acculturation is, in principle, bidirectional and can thus lead to changes and adaptations among both natives and migrants. According to Berry (1997), acculturation can lead to four different outcomes: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization (see left part of figure 2.1). The outcome of the acculturation process is believed to be largely determined by two fundamental preferences among migrants: (1) whether they desire to have intensive contacts with people from outside their own group; and (2) whether they strive for maintenance of their heritage culture and identity. If migrants are willing to give up their heritage culture and identity and mingle with the native population, they will assimilate. If they mingle with people from outside their own group, but prefer to preserve their own culture and identity, they will integrate. Separation occurs when cultural maintenance is essential to a migrant group and no intensive relations with people from outside the group are sought. Finally, marginalization takes place when migrants do not wish to engage with people outside the own group and cultural preservation is not an aim.

Berry's two-dimensional acculturation scheme has received much attention and appreciation, but has also been criticized. One criticism relates to the fact that the scheme does not explain what makes migrants willing to interact with people outside their own group and what makes them willing to preserve their heritage culture (Ward 2008). Another point of criticism is that Berry's scheme focusses more or less exclusively on perceptions and intentions of migrants. Consequently, the idea is created that outcomes regarding adaptation and incorporation are the direct outcome of purposeful behaviour of migrants. By doing so, human behaviour is explained more or less exclusively in terms of *agency*, while *structure*, in the form of the political, economic and cultural context in which migration takes place, is ignored and no room is left for unintended consequences of human behaviour.

The critique regarding the exclusive focus on the strategies of migrants, spurred Berry on to add the perspective of the receiving society to the original scheme (right side of figure 2.1). The model operates basically in the same way. If the dominant native group in society encourages migrants to give up their heritage culture and identity, and to mingle with other groups, society will develop into a melting pot of the type of the US or France. In case migrants are encouraged to mingle with people outside their own group, but they are expected and encouraged, by a national framework, to preserve their own culture and identity this will result in a multicultural society, of the type we find, for instance, in Canada. Cultural diversity is highly valued in this type of society. When the dominant group in society forces migrants to

separate themselves, this will lead to segregation. Exclusion occurs when the dominant groups in society marginalize migrants (Berry 2006; 2013).

Figure 2.1 Acculturation attitudes of migrant groups (Berry 1997)



Source: Berry, J. (2013). Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies: Research Derived from Multiculturalism Policy. *Acta de invetigación psicológica* 3(2), 1122-1135.

An increasingly influential theoretical framework for the incorporation of migrants is that of *social inclusion* and its antipode *social exclusion*. The concept of social exclusion is usually ascribed to Lenoir (1974), who used the term in his book *Les Exclus, Un français sur dix* for those people in France in the 1970s who had no access to the country's social insurance system (Hayes, Gray & Edwards 2008). The wide group of people who were identified as socially excluded, ranging from religious minorities, single parents, drug users, delinquents to physical and mental disabled persons had one thing in common: they were perceived as social misfits and experienced marginalization (Saith 2001). As such, they did not experience social adaptation and were unable to profit from the progress made in modern society (1996; Hayes, Gray & Edwards 2008).

Ever since the 1980s, the concepts of social inclusion and exclusion have made wide entry into public policy programmes in many countries around the world and they have also been adopted

by the European Union, the United Nations, UNESCO, the World Bank, etc. (Levitas 2006). Whereas the dialectic concepts were initially most often used in relation to poverty alleviation of a wide range of social groups (Sen 2000; Levitas 2006), they are increasingly also utilized to shed light on the incorporation of migrants (Papillion 2002; Omidvar & Richmond 2003; Chakravarty & D'Ambrosio 2006; Caidi & Alard 2005). In those studies, social inclusion is perceived as a process which leads to a situation in which migrants increasingly have access to (public) education, healthcare, social security systems, affordable housing, the labour and the marriage market and cultural and political activities.

Social inclusion decreases inequalities between migrants and natives in diverse domains of life (Sen 2000; Papillon 2002). In this sense, social inclusion improves social cohesion in society as it reduces the gap between natives and migrants and thereby lowers the risk of tensions between both social groups (Papillion 2002; Omidvar & Richmond 2003). "[…] Social inclusion extends beyond bringing the 'outsiders' in […]. It is about closing physical, social and economic distances separating people, rather than only about eliminating boundaries or barriers between *us* and *them*" (Omidvar & Richmond 2003: ix).

Social exclusion is defined as the antipode of social inclusion. It refers to a process that prevents migrants from access to education, healthcare, the social security system, the labour, housing and marriage market and cultural and political activities. Differently put, social exclusion prevents migrants from participation in basic activities in the host city (Chakravarty & D'Ambrosio 2006). Social exclusion is related to social deprivation, poverty and is bad for social cohesion as it is likely to increase tensions between migrants and natives (Omidvar & Richmond 2003). Migrants who are socially excluded are isolated from mainstream society and face all kinds of social, economic, political and cultural disadvantages. As such, they are marginalized (Chakravarty & D'Ambrosio 2006).

Although the twinned concepts of social inclusion and exclusion are considered as relatively new, some of the basic sociological mechanisms of exclusion were already described by Georg Simmel (1971) in his 1908 essay 'The stranger', and they were further elaborated by Norbert Elias and John Scotson (1965) in 'The Established and the Outsiders'. In the latter study, Elias and Scotson analyze how the mid-twentieth-century English community of Winston Parva[1] was divided into two groups: (1) the old-established working class who lived for several generations in Winston Parva; and (2) a group of newcomers who settled more recently in a neighbouring community. The established group perceived themselves to be

[1] Fictional name of a real suburb of the English city of Leicester.

superior and looked down upon the newcomers and consistently treated them as outsiders. They avoided social contact with the newcomers as much as possible and used their power to marginalize them. The social exclusion of the newcomers was reinforced through stigmatization and social control in the form of gossip about established members who sought contact with newcomers.

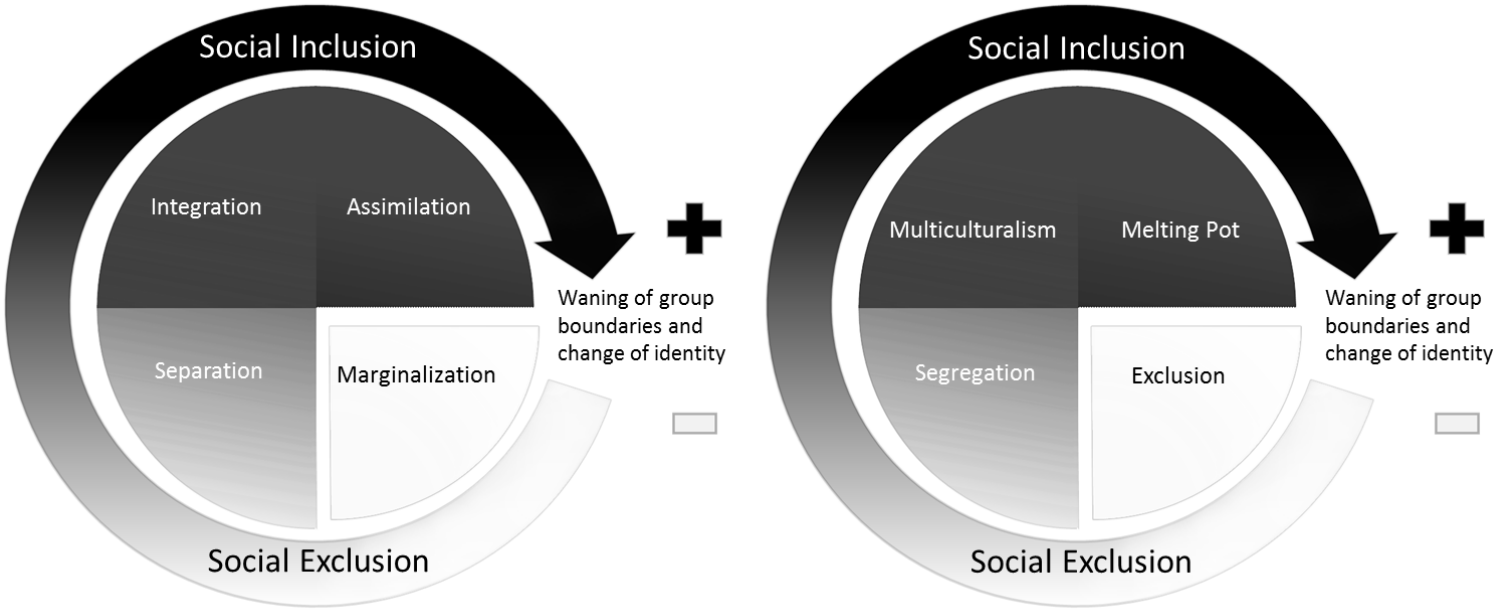
Notwithstanding that the dialectic concepts of social inclusion and exclusion are today widely used to shed light on the incorporation of migrants in Europe and beyond, some critical remarks regarding this theoretical approach have been formulated too. Ronald Labonte (2004) noticed, for instance, that the concept of social exclusion draws our attention to groups of disadvantaged people and that social inclusion policies might help to include these people into the system. However, as Labonte argues, this approach risks distracting us from exclusive structures that cause social exclusion. Consequently, the underlying causes of social exclusion might not be identified and, therefore, might not be tackled. Instead, social inclusion policies might lead to adaptation to an unfair or exclusive structure. Finally, there is the risk that by including some, others will face exclusion.

2.2 Comparing the social inclusion and exclusion approach with other paradigms

The social inclusion and exclusion approach shares some traits with other paradigms on the adaptation and incorporation process of migrants, but also differs in several respects. Like Berry's acculturation scheme and classic and segmented assimilation theory, the social inclusion and exclusion approach focuses on outcomes of the incorporation process, which is viewed as a long-term process. Contrary to classic assimilation theory, the incorporation process can have two possible outcomes: inclusion or exclusion. Social exclusion comes close to what Berry identifies in the left-side of the model as marginalization and exclusion in the right side, but it also includes a degree of separation and segregation. Social inclusion encompasses both integration and assimilation and can result in a multicultural or a melting pot society. As such, the social inclusion and exclusion approach emphasizes less the identificational and cultural dimension in Berry's scheme (horizontal axis) and focuses more on inter-group relations (vertical axis). Moreover, the central question is not whether migrants and natives become more similar over time - which is the focus of Berry's scheme, as well as classic and segmented assimilation theory - but whether they start to enjoy more equal opportunities, and whether a convergence in performances in several domains of society takes

place. Such a convergence in performance may, in principle, take place with or without preservation of the heritage culture and identity. That said, it is more likely to take place when the heritage culture is not preserved or when the heritage and destination culture get mixed in a process of mutual convergence. After all, in practice, cultural differences hinder a more intensive social exchange, as suggested, for example, by studies on patterns of assortative mating patterns: People with a different cultural background are less likely to intermarry (Kalmijn 1994). Next, in the literature, scholars who use the social inclusion and exclusion paradigm seems to stress more the perspective of the receiving society, but at the same time it cannot be denied that social inclusion also demands efforts from the migrants themselves.

Figure 2.2 Linking acculturation attitudes and social inclusion and exclusion



Perspective of the migrants

Perspective of the receiving society

Taking the previous consideration into account, the social inclusion and exclusion paradigm can be connected to Berry's acculturation scheme. We have done this with the addition of a sliding scale in terms of social inclusion and exclusion. This scale ranges from full social exclusion in the lower right part of the scheme to full social inclusion in the upper right side (see figure 2.2). From the point of view of the migrants: The more they are willing to exchange with people outside their own group, and especially natives, and the more they adapt to the culture of the dominant native group, the more they will be included. From the point of view of the receiving society: The more a policy fosters the mixing of migrants and natives by successfully combatting discrimination and breaking down group boundaries, by offering

migrants the same opportunities as natives, the more and the faster migrants will be fully included into the receiving society. We believe that a state that encourages the melting of different cultures, by including elements of the migrant culture into the national culture, will foster inclusion more than a state that only recognizes the existence of different cultures and religions without identifying itself with those elements in society. So, the type of melting pot society, in the model, which according to figure 2.2 fosters social inclusion more than a multicultural society, is not a classic assimilationist melting pot type of society, but rather a progressive melting pot society, in which (elements of) the culture of migrants gradually become part of the national culture. As a result, migrants' and natives' identities converge, as both make important steps towards each other. Next, we believe that social inclusion can be obtained more easily in a multicultural society than in a society characterized by segregation. It is thanks to social exchange across group boundaries and a national policy of equal rights of people with different cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds that social inclusion is being facilitated. Last, but not least, a certain level of social inclusion takes place in societies that are characterized by segregation, while this is not the case in societies characterized by exclusion. It goes without saying that such a theoretical scheme should be taken as an ideal type in the Weberian sense of the word.

Although all the theoretical approaches in section 2.1 are, in principle, useful and informative (apart from the outdated classic assimilation model) for the study of the incorporation of migrants in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm in the period 1850-1930, we follow the social inclusion and exclusion approach. We do this because we are primarily interested in the participation of migrants in the host societies, and because we would like to evaluate the opportunities and performances among different groups of migrants and natives. Moreover, as far as possible, we want to examine whether migrants were able to close gaps with natives during the life course. The data we have available is also more suited to this approach as it informs us more about structural adaptation than about identificational and cultural adjustments. However, in chapter 5, in which we study patterns of assortative mating by geographic origin of the partner, we will also include changes regarding identity and culture in the analysis. In that particular chapter we will fully operationalize the left side of figure 2.2, whereas elsewhere we will not take the horizontal axis into account.

2.3 Social inclusion and exclusion from a life course perspective

We will study processes of social inclusion and exclusion from a life course perspective. Like many other disciplines within the social sciences, historical demographers have increasingly shifted their analyses from cross-sectional macro- and meso-level data to longitudinal micro-level analyses (Kok 2007; Kok & Matthijs 2012). Consequently, historical demographers turned their attention from studies on demographic regimes and household structures in the past to historical life course analysis (Kok 2007; Kok & Matthijs 2012; Matthijs & Puschmann 2015).

The concept of life histories can be traced back to the Chicago School of Sociology. In the seminal study 'The Polish Peasant in Europe and America', Thomas and Znaniecki (1918) investigated the migration of Poles from Europe to the US and their adaptation process in American cities. They did this on the basis of personal accounts, including letters and autobiographical materials, which covered both their life in Poland and in the US.

From the 1970s, social scientists developed a heuristic device to analyze from a longitudinal perspective the relations between individual life histories, the societal context in which they are embedded and processes of social change. In this respect, Glen Elder's (1974) 'Children of the Great Depression' was a milestone. Elder showed that events like an economic collapse or a war, shape different opportunities and constraints, and thereby different life histories, for groups of people who experience these events at different moments during the life course. Consequently, the timing of leaving home, marriage, the transition to parenthood, differed for cohorts who were born before, during and after the Great Depression in the US and, most importantly, the timing of these events had consequences for the rest of their lives. These findings underlined the path-dependency of individual stages and transitions in the life course.

Modern life course methodology enables researchers to study patterns in the human life course and compare them across groups (Kok 2011). Although every individual life course is unique, there are regularities across lifespans and life histories (Elder 1998). That is why life courses are often described as 'standardized biographies' as they summarize the life histories of groups of people by ways of cumulative experiences (Kok 2011). In this respect, scholars are interested in the timing and sequence of events or transitions, like leaving home, marrying, becoming a parent, widowing, death, etc. and the timing, duration and sequence of stages in the life span, like living in the parental home, living alone, living with a partner, living with a partner with children, etc. (Kok 2007). The concept of 'linked lives' refers to the

interdependency of lifespans, as people live together in families, share experiences in the workplace, neighbourhood, associations, thereby influencing each other's lives profoundly.

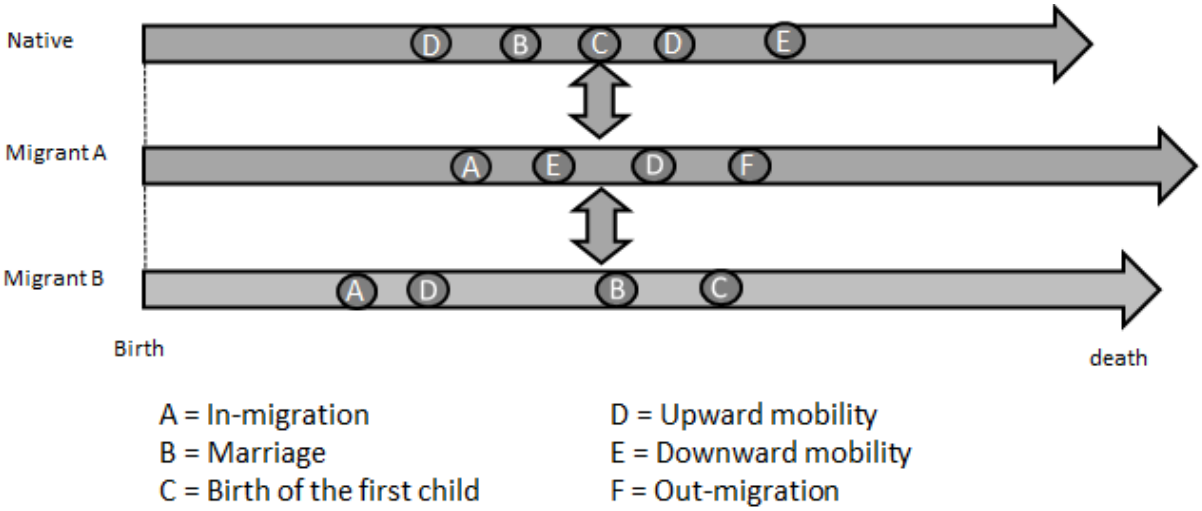
Advocates of the life course, who are found in a wide array of disciplines ranging from sociology, demography and history to economics, epidemiology and public health, claim that this theoretical paradigm has the ability to connect micro level behaviours to macro level processes and to include both agency and structure in the analysis of human behaviour. Its longitudinal approach enables researchers to evaluate the impact of past experiences and choices on behaviour in later life (Kok 2011). Time - both calendar time and age - and place are central concepts in life course research as the period and place in which people live, as well as the age in which they experience events and transitions is believed to shape, to a large degree, their opportunities and constraints. In this sense, the life course approach is believed to be the best way of studying the complex interplay of agency and structure in human behaviour (Elder 1998). This is especially promising for studies of social inclusion and exclusion of migrants, since migrants move from one society to another society, thereby switching social structures and institutional regimes (Wingens et al. 2011). The degree to which migrants are able to obtain access to different domains in the receiving society and are able to participate and perform in this new social and institutional environment is the core question of studies on social inclusion and exclusion. Furthermore, it seems to be highly related to migrants own social, geographic, cultural and religious background, their demographic characteristics, the timing of their move and the place where they settle.

Although the life course perspective is particularly suited to applications with respect to migration and the social inclusion of migrants, this is still relatively virgin territory. This is not only true for historical studies but also for research on present-day societies (Kok 2007; Wingens, et al. 2011). This has much to do with the requirement for high quality longitudinal micro-level data, which are scarce both for today and for the past.

We will analyze processes of social inclusion and exclusion by focussing on the likelihood and timing of core transitions in the life course: marriage, the birth of the first child, occupational change and death. We will compare these transitions across different groups of migrants, and in the case of occupational change and death, there is a comparison with the native population (see figure 2.3). This allows us to evaluate migrants' access to marriage, reproduction and the labour market, their inclusion into other groups, and it helps us to trace processes of exclusion with health-damaging effects. Thus, we take into account previous experiences in the life course, such as the place and region where somebody was born and grew

up, the age at arrival in the city of settlement, the occupation upon arrival, the travelled distance between the birth place and the city of settlement, etc. as we expect that these experiences influenced the likelihood and timing of the events under study in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm. By incorporating the year of birth in the analysis, we will be able to study cohort effects. The features of the migrants function as indicators of the migrant's agency, while the three receiving urban societies are the structures within which process of social inclusion and exclusion took place.

Figure 2.3 Comparing life courses



2.4 Qualitative versus quantitative approaches

One of the greatest challenges of social history is caused by the fact that the majority of the people in the past hardly left any historical sources, because they were unable to write (Houston 1983). Consequently, we have very little autobiographical information from the labour classes. What we do know is often based on descriptions from contemporaries of the middle and higher classes, who, due to their contempt for the working classes, did not provide the most objective and reliable picture. The same is true for women, as they were more often illiterate than men (Graff 1991).

From the middle of the nineteenth century the source material became gradually richer, thanks to, amongst other things, the emergence of mass communication and the introduction of compulsory education in Western societies. Historians of migration have taken full advantage of these materials, as is reflected in the growing body of studies using such a fascinating range of qualitative source materials including diaries, letters, newspapers, policy reports, photos,

poets, popular songs, etc. Such sources can shed interesting light on the social inclusion and exclusion of migrants in the past and they are indispensable for getting a better notion of, for example, the intentions of migrants, their feelings of belonging, identity, happiness or dissatisfaction, notions of anxiety and success, their attitude towards the native population and vice versa.

However, the use of rich and expressive qualitative source materials in studies of social inclusion and exclusion also carries certain risks, which are mostly related to the representativeness of the data. If newspapers report on social evils among certain migrant groups does this mean that this whole group of migrants faced problems in the host society? Probably not. Since newspapers draw the readers' attention to problems in society, journalists will deal largely with migrants who run into trouble, but they will hardly report on members of the same migrant group who become silently incorporated into mainstream society, as the latter is usually not considered as newsworthy. Likewise, letters of migrants are a highly subjective source, as the migrants might either understate or exaggerate their situation, depending of their intentions behind the letter (Anbinder 2012). Next, there is the selectivity in terms of who wrote letters and who did not, and then which letters survived and which letters got lost. This is, in turn, highly related to the question of which letters were deemed worthy to preserve.

Our critical remarks about the use of source materials such as letters and newspapers do not imply a rejection of qualitative approaches towards migration and social in- and exclusion in the past. Rather the contrary is true: we deem qualitative studies to be important, inspiring and indispensable, as they give meaning to notions of migration, social in- and exclusion, xenophobia, racism, discrimination, multiculturalism, transnationalism, etc. in a way that quantitative studies simply cannot. Furthermore, certain topics with respect to migration and social in- and exclusion in the past are better studied from a qualitative perspective; for example, migration decision making and identity formation, as these topics are hard to catch in quantitative source materials, and ask for a hermeneutic, rather than a positivist approach (Losifides 2011). Finally, qualitative studies provide food for quantitative studies as they are very well suited to developing theories and hypotheses, which can be tested empirically with the help of quantitative techniques.

However, in addition to qualitative studies, quantitative studies are necessary to make important refinements, differentiations and modifications of the picture drawn by qualitative studies. The advantage of the population registers we use in this dissertation is that they cover all segments of the population of the cities under study: Migrants; natives; males; females;

babies; adults; elderly; literate and illiterate; rich and poor; unmarried and married; divorced and widowed persons; unemployed; unskilled and skilled workers; blue- and white-collar workers; entrepreneurs; engineers; the clergy; the nobility, etc. Qualitative historical sources, by contrast, are biased towards the rich, powerful, literate and male population. By using quantitative sources such as population registers, a more representative picture of the experiences of migrants can be drawn. These sources were, in the first instance, created for administrative reasons, through which they are less coloured than, for example, autobiographical materials, newspapers and letters, which were written with very specific intentions. That said, population registers are, to a certain extent, also subjective, as they focus the attention on certain events and features of natives and migrants, but are silent about others.

2.5 The absence of longitudinal approaches in migration studies

The use of quantitative data and methods in migration history is, of course, not new and goes back to the very first systematic investigations of human mobility, as carried out by such scholars as Ravenstein (1880), Welton (1911), Thomas (1934) and Stouffer (1940). However, scholars have largely relied on cross-sectional data and methods, notwithstanding the numerous calls for more longitudinal approaches to migration, adaptation and incorporation (Wingens, et al. 2011). We find some important exceptions with respect to historical studies in: Gribaudi (1987); Pooley & Turnbull (1998); Bras (2002); Kok, Mandemakers & Wals (2005); and Kok, Mandemakers & Mönkediek (2014).

The scarcity of longitudinal approaches to migration and processes of social inclusion and exclusion of migrants is related to a lack of source materials. For the period under study only population registers - potentially supplemented with vital statistics of births, marriages and deaths - can provide quantitative life course information on migrants. However, in the course of the nineteenth century only a limited number of states - among them Belgium, the Netherlands and Sweden - developed a population register (Gutmann & Van de Walle 1978). For those countries where such a register survived, attempts have only been made during the previous decades to enter, systematically link, clean and store this data into large historical demographic databases (Mandemakers 2009; Matthijs & Puschmann 2015). For this reason, it has only become possible more recently to study migration and social inclusion for historical populations from a life-course perspective.

This, however, cannot be the only reason for the scarcity of migration studies from a life course perspective. In fact, demographers and historical demographers have treated migration as a

Cinderella (Oris 2003). For a long time, migration was perceived as a disturbing factor - the great unknown - in population projections and calculations regarding marriage, fertility and mortality. The family reconstitution method, which played a key role in the development of historical demography in the post-war period, excluded all migrants (Fleury & Henry 1956). This was due to limitations in terms of data and methodology (Ruggles 1993; Kasakoff & Adams 1995). However, ever since George Alter's (1988) 'Family and the Female Life Course' appeared, these technical problems have largely been overcome with the introduction of population register data and event history techniques. In fact, many applications of historical life course studies saw the light. However, migration seems to have remained the Cinderella. The absence of a volume on migration in the *Eurasian Project on Population and Family History* is striking (Bengtsson, Campbell & Lee 2004; Tsuya, et al. 2010; Lundh & Kurosu 2014). The same is true for the other large intercontinental historical demographic project: *Life at the Extremes* (Engelen & Wolf 2005; Zuang, Engelen & Wolf 2006; Engelen & Hsieh2008; Engelen, Shephard & Yang 2012).

2.6 Advantages of longitudinal approaches

The largest advantage of longitudinal data lies in the fact that migrants can be followed through time and space. This makes it possible to take previous experiences in the life course into account, but it also allows us to evaluate the fate of leavers, as far as they moved within the geographic coverage of the data. Next, longitudinal data allows us to calculate the probability of events for individuals more precisely. Cross-sectional studies can at best make a distinction between individuals who were at risk of experiencing an event (e.g. out-migration, marriage, birth of a child, death, etc.) and individuals who were not at risk of experiencing that event. However, it would be wrong to assume that a migrant who was only in a city for several weeks had the same probability of, for instance, dying in that city, compared to somebody who stayed in that city for decades (Alter 1988). Longitudinal data techniques like event history analysis, allow us to control for this difference by taking both the time at risk and the individual waiting times until a certain event took place into account (Gutmann & Van de Walle 1978). People who leave the area of observation or reach a certain age, at which point they were no longer expected to experience the event (for example giving birth to a child after age 50) are simply censored. The same approach is applied to the end of registration. Event history techniques can deal with this type of right censoring adequately (Mills 2011). In the case of migration studies,

longitudinal data have yet another advantage over cross-sectional data; that is, they cover the presence of temporary migrants better. Cross-sectional sources, like population censuses, cover only a small share of the mobile masses, as most temporary migrants arrived after a census was taken, and left before a new one was carried out. Since temporary migrants are often believed to have had divergent experiences from stayers, it is important to make sure that both categories of migrants are covered by the data and that it is possible to differentiate between them and to follow migrants through time. This cannot be done with cross-sectional data as they only provide snapshots of a population. What happened to the people under study between these snapshots remains largely unknown. Longitudinal data, by contrast, follow migrants through time and space and function as a video, registering all demographic changes. This definitely does not solve all the problems, since we are only able, at best, to catch those events towards which the camera was pointed; but, it increases nevertheless the amount and quality of information we have available on the individuals under study.

2.7. Sources

The data we use in this PhD thesis are retrieved from three large historical demographic databases: the Antwerp COR* database, the Historical Sample of the Netherlands and the Stockholm Historical Database. Before we describe the content of these databases in more detail, we will describe briefly the sources from which the data in these databases originate. The Antwerp COR* database and the Historical Sample of the Netherlands are based on nineteenth- and twentieth-century population registers and birth, marriage and death certificates. The data from the Stockholm Historical Database originates from the so-called Roteman registration system

2.7.1 Belgian and Dutch population registers

Belgium was, thanks to major efforts by Adolphe Quetelet, the first European nation to implement a nationwide population register (Kok 2006b; Poulain & Herm 2013). This register, which was fully operational from 1846 onwards, functioned on a municipality basis. Each double-page of the register covered all members of a household and their social and demographic characteristics: First name, last name, sex, birth date, birth place, civil status and occupation. The first person listed on a page was the ‘head of the household’. All the relationships of other members in the household were defined in relation to the head of the household, who was most commonly a man. The second person in the register was usually his

spouse; subsequently, the children were listed, and finally other kin and non-related household members, like domestic servants and lodgers. The register was organized by city district and address (Vanhaute 2003).

All the above-mentioned information was simply copied down from the last population census. The strength of the register, however, is that the information was dynamic as all demographic changes were, in principle, registered: the birth of a child was added to a new line, the death of person led to the crossing out of this person in the list and a note of death date and death place. A marriage was also registered and led to a change in civil status, but also the place and date of the marriage were registered. In- and out-migration were also noted in the register, including dates of arrival and departure, as well as the place of origin and the place of destination. People who moved were obliged to deregister in their municipality of origin and to register in the new municipality. Moves within the municipality were also tracked. In the Netherlands a very similar system was operational from 1850 until 1940, when the register was replaced with a system of family cards (Kok 2006b). In Rotterdam, family cards were already introduced around 1890 (Mandemakers 2009). One difference was that the Dutch population registers also contained information on the religious denomination of the population.

Population registers are considered as the best and most interesting sources for historical demographic analysis (Poulain & Herm 2013). However, the registers also have some shortcomings. It is important to realize that the population register initially only contained the *de jure* population, i.e. the population who officially resided in the municipality. People who lived *de facto* in the municipality, but had their primary residence elsewhere, were not covered by the register (Gutmann & Van de Walle 1978). This quickly caused trouble, and therefore the Dutch authorities changed the system in 1862 to a *de facto* population register (Kok 2006b). Furthermore, although registration of newcomers and the deregistration of leavers at the city hall were compulsory, and negligence could lead to a penalty, not all migrations were registered (Mandemakers 2009). Especially, out-migration was highly under-registered as many migrants simply left without a declaration of their departure to the local authorities (Oris & Ritschard 2014).

In general, the use of population registers is much more difficult than it initially appears. This is especially true for households that experienced many demographic changes. In that case, the register becomes difficult to read, because of all the supplements and crossing outs of people who left or died. Furthermore, as the registers operated on a municipality level, they can only

be used for migration research once they are computerized. Reconstructing the life course of highly mobile migrants therefore quickly becomes a difficult and time-consuming task.

2.7.2 The vital registration of births, marriages and death

The civil registration of births, marriages and deaths was introduced in Belgium and the Netherlands during the Napoleonic age and replaced the parish registers (Vanhaute 2003; Kok 2006b). In the early phase, the registration of births, marriages and deaths was incomplete, due to opposition against the secular French authorities. However, once the French had left, during the age of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, the quality of the registration quickly improved and under-registration of vital events became a thing of the past, in part because people realized that they would encounter bureaucratic trouble if they did not register these events with the authorities (Vanhaute 2003; Kok 2006b). Birth, marriage and death certificates acted on a *de facto* basis. This makes them interesting to compare with the population register, which acted on a *de jure* principle. Inconsistent use by the authorities led to an under-registration of, especially, the death of infants and marriages in the population registers (Gutmann & Van de Walle 1978; Oris & Ritschard 2014). In principle, the authorities that contracted a marriage or dealt with a death had to communicate these events to the municipality in which the person resided. Subsequently, the information about this person was updated in the population register. However, clearly this did not always happen (Gutmann & Van de Walle 1978). This is just one reason why it is interesting to supplement information from the population register with the birth, marriage and death certificates. Another reason is that the certificates contain additional information not covered by the population register. In this sense, the birth, marriage and death certificates contain additional occupational information. Occupational information in the register was usually only updated when a new register was opened on the basis of a new census. Furthermore, there is information about marriage witnesses on the marriage certificate. Finally, birth, marriage and death certificates required witnesses, which can provide interesting information about the social network of the spouses. In addition, marriage certificates had to be signed by the spouses, their parents and the witnesses, which is an interesting indicator of education, as the ability to sign presumes that the person is able to read and write.

2.7.3 The Roteman registration system

The source for the Stockholm Historical Database (SHD) is the Roteman registration system, which was in operation between 1878 and 1926 in the Swedish capital. In 1878, Stockholm was divided into 16 *rotar* (wards) with between 8,000 and 10,000 inhabitants. Forty-eight years later, when the system was abolished, this number had increased to 36. Every *rote* was assigned a *roteman*, who carried out two main duties; being a population registrar and a 'social worker' carrying out certain social welfare services. The background of this system was Stockholm's extraordinary population growth, in the wake of large-scale industrialization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Local authorities needed to 'keep track' of the population and thereby organize policies regarding, for example, city planning, sewage management and poor relief. The Church Examination Registers were regarded as insufficient in keeping track of demographic change in these times of strong population increase as well as extensive in-, out- and intra-city migration (Geschwind & Fogelvik 2000).

Everyone who lived and was registered in Stockholm during the above-mentioned time period was recorded by the rotemen in a longitudinal population register (ledger) for all real estate inside the rote's borders. The main ledgers were complemented by special ones on births and deaths as well as in- and out-migration. The ledgers contain information on names, sex, birthplaces, birthdates, occupational titles, civil status, family relations, head of household markers, and migrations to and from the properties. A roteman continuously updated 'his' (women were not eligible to be rotemen) ledger and noted migrations to and from the properties as well as when children were born and when people died. Information in the ledgers was updated annually, at the time of the yearly census registration (Geschwind & Fogelvik 2000). In that sense, the Roteman registration system is a very good source for historical demographic research.

2.8 Databases

It has only recently become possible to use the information from the population registers and vital registration for the longitudinal analysis of processes of migration and social inclusion and exclusion on a large-scale. Before the creation of large demographic databases such as Umeå's Demographic Database (DDB), the Historical Samples of the Netherlands (HSN), the Stockholm Historical Database (SHD) and the Antwerp COR* database, it would have been

impossible to follow massive numbers of individuals through different registers, as the information on individuals was spread over dozens of registers stored in different archives. Only the central storage of this data and the internal linkage of research persons in the form of large historical databases have made these sources suitable for this kind of research.

2.8.1 The Antwerp COR* database

The construction of the Antwerp COR* database took place within the research group Family and Population Studies at the Centre for Sociological Research of the KU Leuven, under the supervision of Prof. Koen Matthijs. It involved several PhD students and a group of bachelor and master students (Van Baelen 2007; Matthijs & Moreels 2010). The construction process started in 2003 and a first release of the database was launched in August 2010. Currently, plans are being made to extend the database further and to implement a new release in the so-called Intermediate Data Structure (IDS). This is a new standard data format for large historical databases, which aims to facilitate and foster cross-national research (Alter & Mandemakers 2014). The Antwerp COR* database is a relational database, which is stored in a Microsoft Access file. For the purposes of this PhD thesis, we utilized 'release august 2010'.

The COR* database is a representative sample of the total population living in the Antwerp district in the period 1846-1920 and contains longitudinal micro-level information on 33,583 individuals, who lived in the Antwerp district between 1846 and 1920. This geographic area is made up of 62 municipalities and comprises the city of Antwerp and the surrounding suburban and rural areas. The database contains natives, internal and international migrants of all ages and all layers of the society. All these persons share one common trait: their last name started with the letters 'Cor'. This letter combination was chosen as research showed that family names starting with this letter combination were representative for the research area and wider Flanders (Van Baelen 2007). Working with a letter sample simultaneously facilitated the collection of life course information for highly mobile individuals and families. All pieces of information from all 'Cor'-persons were collected from all the certificates and registers and subsequently linked, rather than collecting information by following individuals from the cradle to grave through dozens of registers and certificates. Additional tests were carried out, which showed that the letter sample was also representative for international migrants (Van Baelen 2007). The database contains in total life course information on 2,472 international migrants, who mostly originate from the neigbouring countries, especially the Netherlands and Germany and France. Those were indeed the main countries of origin among international migrants in

Antwerp at the time. However, at the same time migrants from a diverse set of countries, including Algeria, Brazil, China, Japan, Russia, the Philippines, etc. are covered in the database.

2.8.2 The Historical Sample of the Netherlands

The Historical Sample of the Netherlands (HSN) is a random sample of the Dutch population born in the period from 1812 to 1922 and contains information on some 78,000 individuals (Kok, Mandemakers & Bras 2009). The sample is hosted by the International Institute for Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam and is coordinated by Prof. Kees Mandemakers. The data collection started around 1987 and continues until today (Mandemakers 2000; Kok, Mandemakers & Bras 2009). Since the source materials are highly identical and the same life-course information was collected, the content of the HSN and the Antwerp COR* database is very similar. The database is stored in Dbase files, which, for our purposes, we transformed into Microsoft Access files. We made use of the 'HSN release 2010' and the 'DVI_2010_01 release'.

The data collection of the HSN started with birth certificates and the aim was to collect as many full life courses as possible (Mandemakers 2000). This is a more energy-, time- and money-consuming process, compared to the 'vacuum cleaning' method applied for the Antwerp COR* database; but, ultimately, it leads to more full life courses, as individuals are followed throughout the country. A disadvantage of this method is that the sample initially did not contain any international migrants. Moreover, life courses of internal migrants were more often censored. Because of the absence of immigrants, an extra dataset – DVI – was created, which consists of two cohorts of Germans, Italians and inhabitants of the Dutch provinces of Brabant and Zeeland, who moved to the city of Rotterdam in the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. Due to very specific selection criteria, the DVI sample cannot always be used for comparisons. (Mandemakers 2006). One criterion was that these migrants should have children and grandchildren and their life courses were also 'reconstructed' in order to enable inter-generational comparisons. Consequently, the sample is strongly biased towards stayers and migrants who married and had children.

2.8.3 The Stockholm Historical Database

The Stockholm Historical Database (SHD) is a digitalization of the Roteman archive. SHD is part of the Stockholm City archives (Geschwind & Fogelvik 2000). It differs from both COR* and HSN in the sense that it is not a sample. Instead, the database contains records of the total population of the city of Stockholm in the period 1878-1926. All information in the register was continuously updated by the roteman and checked and made complete by an annual census. The Stockholm Historical Database is an unusually rich and reliable database. Apart from containing records of the same important life events as COR* and HSN – birth, migration, marriage, and death – SHD also holds information on military conscription, poor relief, education and other interesting characteristics of the inhabitants of Stockholm. The similar content of the database, makes it is possible to compare the life courses of thousands of migrants and natives living in Stockholm with those of people living in Antwerp and Rotterdam during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Geschwind & Fogelvik 2000).

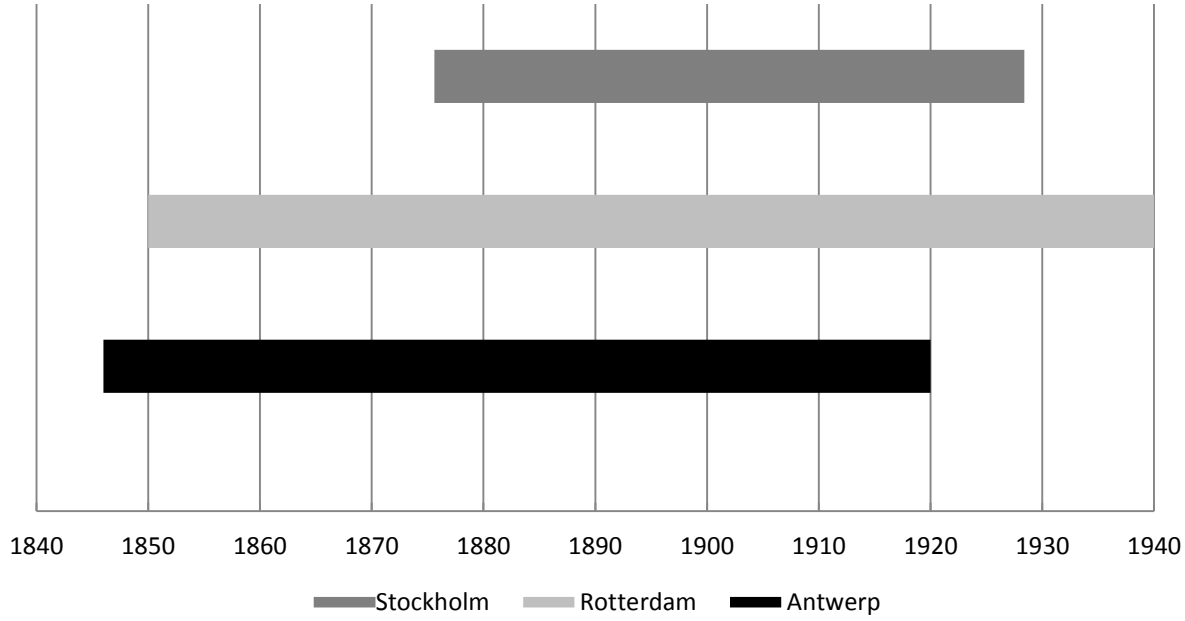
We did not work with the full database, but worked instead with two large retrievals. At the moment of the data retrieval, 23 out of 36 wards (*rotar*) were digitalized. For the purpose of this study, we used two retrievals of the SHD. The first retrieval refers to international migrants and contains all individuals born abroad who migrated directly from a foreign country to Stockholm and who were at least 16 years of age on arrival. The second retrieval refers to domestic migrants and natives who have been selected randomly from a 20% sample of the total database.

2.8.4 Comparability of the databases

The first issue related to the comparability of the data is related to the period covered by the databases for each city (see figure 2.4). The population registers from the Antwerp COR*database started in 1846. This means that from that year on it is possible to follow the life course of migrants and natives. The last register covered by the Antwerp COR* database is the register that opened in 1910 and closed in 1920. For Rotterdam we have register data from 1850 to 1940. However, the DVI dataset followed a slightly different periodization as the first cohort of migrants were followed only from 1870 on. For more details see (Mandemakers 2006). The Stockholm Historical Database covers the period 1878-1926. We can therefore conclude that the period 1878-1920, making up in total 42 years, is covered by all three databases. Before that date we are missing information on Stockholm. The period 1920-1930

is not covered by Antwerp and for the same period three years are missing for Stockholm, i.e. 1927-1930.

Figure 2.4 Period covered by the data for each city



Although the three databases contain highly comparable data, not every issue of this PhD thesis can be perfectly compared across all three cities, as a consequence of data constraints resulting mostly from differences in the source material and different ways of sampling. In the Rotterdam DVI dataset, for instance, the Italians and Germans are the only two international migrant groups. These two groups consisted only of stayers, who became parents and grandparents in the Dutch city, as the database makers had very specific research aims in mind (see Mandemakers 2006). Stayers are, of course, a highly selective group, which cannot be used, for example, to evaluate the migrants' access to marriage and reproduction, as those migrants who did not get access to the marriage market are simply not in the data.

Next, certain databases are more suited to going deeper into a certain topic than others, due to certain adavantags. We can provide one example: The data on Rotterdam allowed us to follow internal migrants across the whole country, which is not the case for Antwerp and Stockholm. We have taken advantage of this interesting characteristic of the data to evaluate whether migrants who left the city were a selective group of vulnerable people, who were at an increased risk of dying, as has been posited by the so-called Salmon-Bias hypothesis.

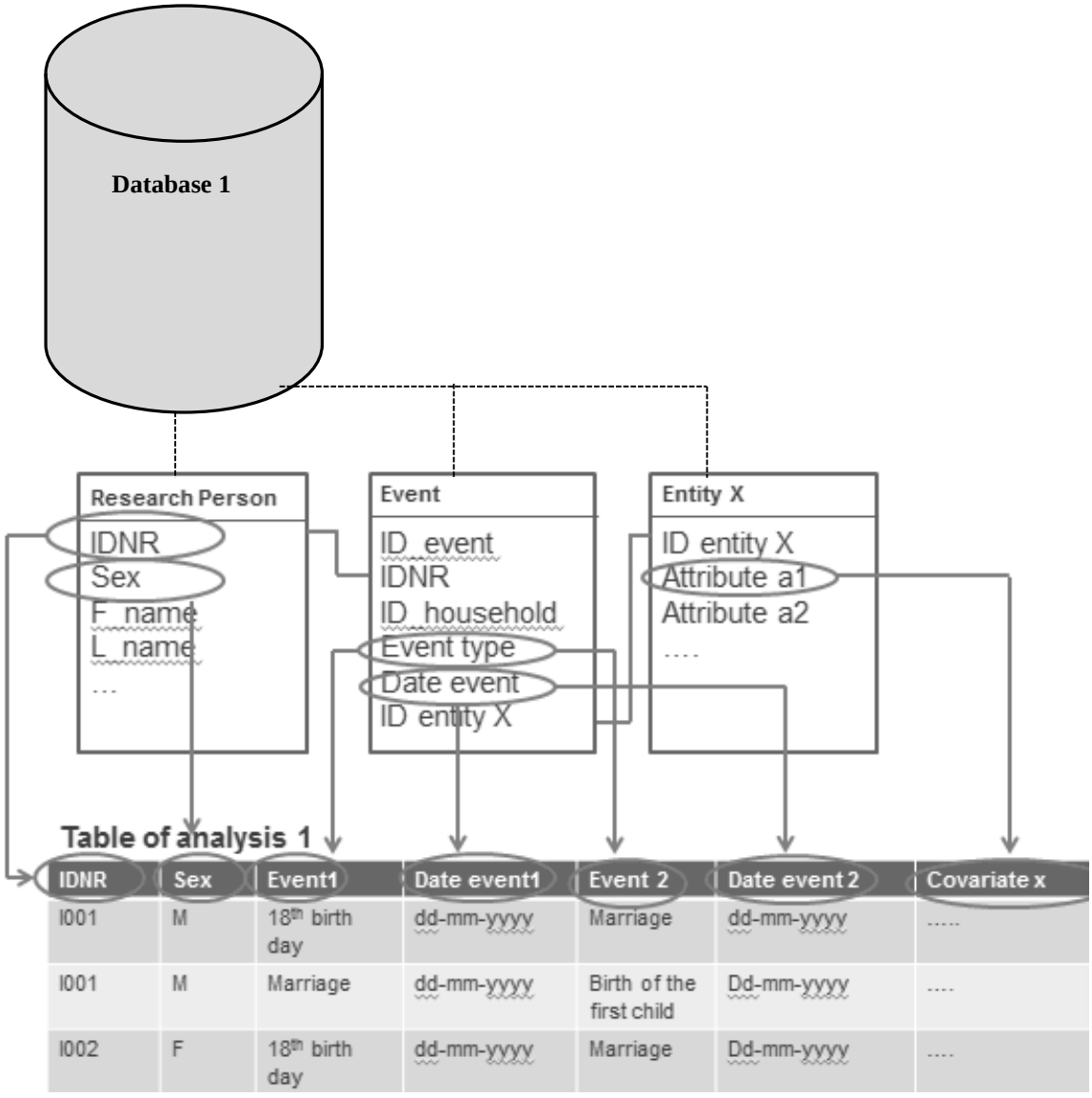
Table 2.1 Comparing the three databases

	Antwerp COR*-database	Historical Sample of the Netherlands	Stockholm Historical Database
Source materials	Population registers and birth, marriage and death certificates	Population registers and birth, marriage and death certificates	Roteman population register
Sampling method	Letter sample; 'vacuum cleaing' method	Random sample from the birth certificates; aim of reconstructing as many full life courses as possible.	Total population
Geographic coverage of the database	Antwerp district	The Netherlands	Stockholm city (23 out of 36 rotars were digitalized at the time of the retrievals)
Geographic origin of migrants	Internal and international migrants, mainly from neigbouring countries	Internal migrants from the whole country in main dataset; Internal migrants from the provinces of Zeeland and Brabant and German, Italian and Italian-speaking Swiss migrants in DVI sample	Internal and international migrants, mainly from neigbouring countries
Type of migrants in terms of duration of stay	Both stayers and leavers	Stayers and leavers among the internal migrants from the main dataset; stayers only among the DVI sample	Both stayers and leavers
Main characteristics of migrants included (not exhaustive)	First name, last name, sex, age, address, occupation, civil status, family composition (in- and outside the household), dates and places of birth, marriage and death, dates of migrations and origin and destination of migrations.	First name, last name, sex, address, age, *religion*, occupation, address, civil status, family composition (inside the household), dates and places of birth, marriage and death, dates of migrations and origin and destination of migrations.	First name, last name, sex, address, age, occupation, civil status, family composition (inside the household), dates and places of birth, marriage and death included, dates of migrations and origin and destination of migrations.

Finally, the fact that all three databases contain highly comparable information does not mean that comparisons are easily made. The main problem is that all three databases have a different data structure and have deviant variable names. This made it impossible to automate the

database management process. Instead, database management tasks had to be processed separately for each database, which turned out to be an extremely time-consuming task. With database management we refer to the process that transforms data on individuals from a large number of tables in relational databases into rectangular files, which can be read by statistical programs. The process, which is illustrated in a simplified way in figure 2.4, had to be conducted three times for each sub-topic of this PhD thesis and for each database, in order to obtain a uniform table of analysis every time. This required several thousands of queries, and was extremely time-consuming.

Figure 2.5: From raw data to tables of analyses



3 Research Context

This chapter draws in part upon the following publications:

Puschmann, P., Van den Driessche, N., Grönberg, P., Van de Putte, B., Matthijs, K. (2015). From outsiders to Insiders? Partner choice and marriage among internal migrants in Antwerp, Rotterdam & Stockholm, 1850-1930. *Historical Social Research - Historische Sozialforschung (Köln), 40* (2), 319-358.

Puschmann, P., Grönberg, P., Kok, J. & Matthijs, K. (2012). Upward Mobility Among Different Groups of Migrants and Natives in Stockholm, 1878-1926. Working *paper* WOG/HD/2012-7, Leuven: Centrum voor Sociologisch Onderzoek.

3.1 Choice of the research setting and period

We chose to study processes of social inclusion and exclusion in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm, as European port cities received large quantities of migrants of various geographic, cultural and religious backgrounds. This was especially true for large sea ports, with steamer services to other continents. Such port cities were national and international junctions with a specific demographic regime, characterized by relatively high mortality - due to the import of epidemics - and an extraordinary high turnover of migrants (Lee & Lawton 2002). The fact that in these cities persons and cargo arrived from every corner of the world, created a dynamic economic and social life with a lot of inter-cultural interactions. Natives lived together in one city with internal migrants, as well as growing shares of international migrants. Such diverse groups as dockworkers, factory workers, fishermen, shop keepers, traders, merchants and bankers from various geographic backgrounds encountered each other on a daily basis. In addition to short- and long-term residents, these cities were flooded by transit migrants, who usually arrived by train and stayed only for a couple of days in the city, upon which they took a ship to another continent.

Thanks to the strong influx of migrants, major North-western European seaports like Marseille, Bordeaux, Le Havre, Liverpool, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Bremen, Hamburg, Bergen, Gothenburg and Malmö experienced strong population growth during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and belonged, right after capital cities, to the top of the urban hierarchy. The same is true for port cities in other continents. By 1850, 40% of all cities in the world with more than 100,000 inhabitants were seaports (Lawton & Lee 1989). New Imperialism, the globalization of the world economy and the Trans-Atlantic movement, reinforced the role of Western European sea ports during the latter half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century (Lee & Lawton 2002). The invention of the steamship accelerated the speed of travelling and increased the quantity of people and goods which could be transported within a given period of time. Railroad connections made sure that these port cities were better and faster reachable over land. These conditions shaped the first multicultural and transnational urban societies *avant la lettre*. It is exactly for this reason that we decided to focus our research on sea ports.

The main reason why we decided to compare Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm is the fact that all three cities experienced strong population growth as a result of heavy urban in-migration, while at the same time their labour market structures were quite different, suggesting that migrants encountered different opportunity structures, which most likely led to different

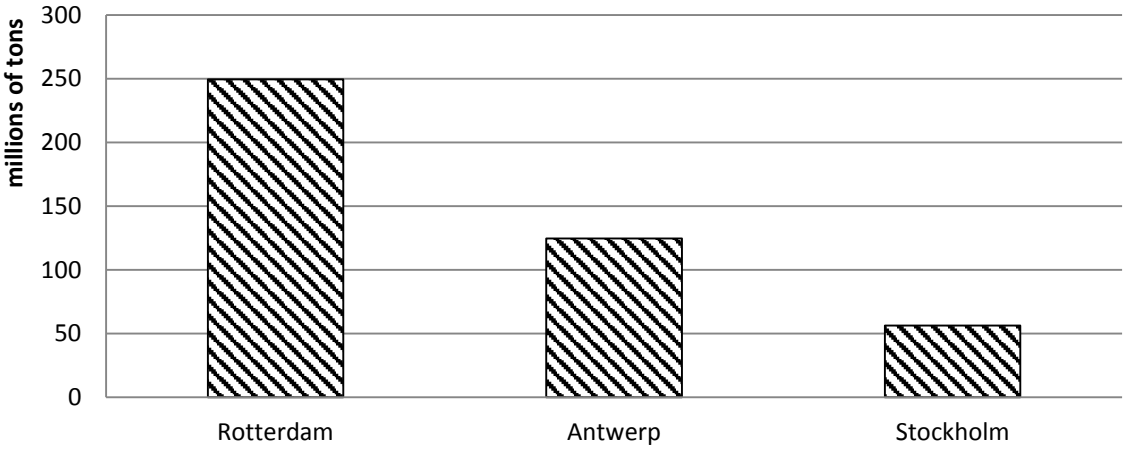
paths of social inclusion and exclusion. While one type of labour market might have been favourable to certain groups of migrants, it might have been unfavourable to other migrant groups. In this respect the match between the demand and supply in the labour market is crucial. First of all, migrants will find their way easier to the job market in societies where there is a large demand for labour, compared to societies who go through periods of economic recession, marked by a declining demand for labour and the loss of jobs among natives. However, the match between the demand and supply of labour does not only matter in terms of sheer numbers. Ideally employers have jobs to offer, where migrants are looking for and for which they are qualified. In other words, if the job requirements for vacancies and the human capital of migrants match, inclusion into the labour market is relatively easy, and this might foster inclusion into others domains of receiving society. A mismatch, by contrast, will hamper the social inclusion process and will more often lead to social exclusion.

Figure 3.1 Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm on the European map

In Antwerp, the port heavily dominated the urban economy. Port labour is believed to have stimulated especially the social inclusion of lower educated, rural migrants with limited skills as port labour demanded few experience and training. Next, port-labour is unattractive to women due to its physical requirements (Winter 2009). Rotterdam turned into Europe's largest port city, but developed at the same time also important industries, which were largely absent

in Antwerp, at least before World War I (De Brabander 1986; Veraghtert 1977; Weigend 1973; Van de Laar 2000). In that sense Rotterdam had a more diversified labour market, which might have been especially interesting for skilled migrants, as they were more likely to find a job, which demanded the specific human resources they had at their availability. The presence of industry – especially textile industry – offered interesting opportunities for women.

Graph 3.1 Total turnover of cargo: Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm, 1900-1910



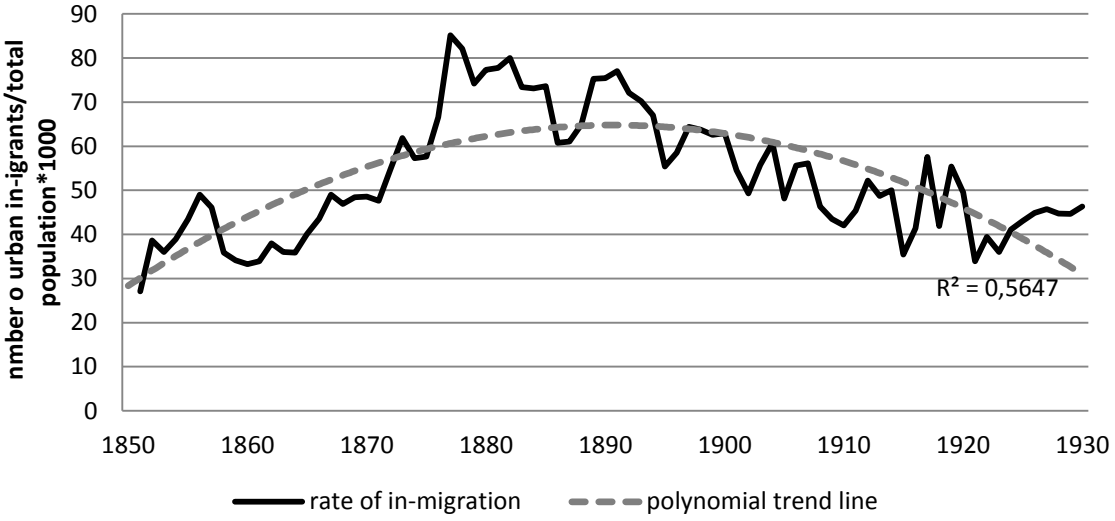
Source: Rotterdam: Database Project Rotterdam-Antwerp: A Century and a Half of Port Competition 1880-2000: http://www.eshcc.eur.nl/english/rotterdam_antwerp_1880_2000/introduction/; Antwerp: Data collection of the Economic History Workshop (Center of Economic Studies, KU Leuven) http://www.econ.kuleuven.ac.be/ew/academic/econhist/ & K. Veraghtert, *De havenbewegingen te Antwerpen tijdens de negentiende eeuw. Een kwantitatieve benadering* (Unpublished PhD thesis KU Leuven 1977; Stockholm*:* Commerce-Collegii Underdåniga Berättelse om Sveriges Inrikes Sjöfart 1849-1857; Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik. E. Sjöfart. Kommerskollegii Underdåniga Berättelse, 1858-1910

Stockholm was also a port city, but its port was of considerably smaller size than that of Antwerp and Rotterdam, as figures on the total turnover of cargo in the period 1900-1910 clearly show (graph 3.1). Gothenburg was Sweden's chief port city, and Stockholm's port was only of secondary importance for the national and even for the local labour market (Lee & Lawton 2002). The Swedish capital turned instead into a real industrial hotspot and mechanical engineering and the printing industry - Stockholm's leading industries - created an ever larger demand for capital and skills (Söderberg, Jonsson & Persson 1991). This created good opportunities for skilled professionals. Due to the large industrial sector, Stockholm had many jobs to offer for women. Next, contrary to Antwerp and Rotterdam, Stockholm was a capital city. The presence of the royal palace, the parliament, the ministries, the court and embassies created a demand for higher educated administrative staff and diplomats. This must have been especially interesting for migrants from the middle and higher classes. Last, but not least, we believe that the declining demand for unskilled labourers in Stockholm (Söderberg, Jonsson &

Persson 1991), made it especially difficult for uneducated and unexperienced migrants to become included into the labour market.

We focus on the period 1850-1930 as this covers roughly the era of strong urbanization and heavy urban in-migration preceding World War II. Historians of migration have only more recently turned their attention to processes of social inclusion and exclusion of migrants in this period of history, and those studies that exist have focused mostly on international migrants, while the bulk of urban in-migrants were internal migrants (Lucassen 2005a; Oris 2003). We started our investigation in 1850 as urban in-migration started to accelerate around that time, as we have seen in the introduction, but there was also a pragmatic reason, as this was the period when population registers were introduced in the Low Countries. Before the middle of the nineteenth century migrants and native cannot be followed through time and space.

Graph 3.2: Rate of in-migration and polynomial trend line, Rotterdam, 1850-1930



Source: Historical Database of Dutch Municipalities

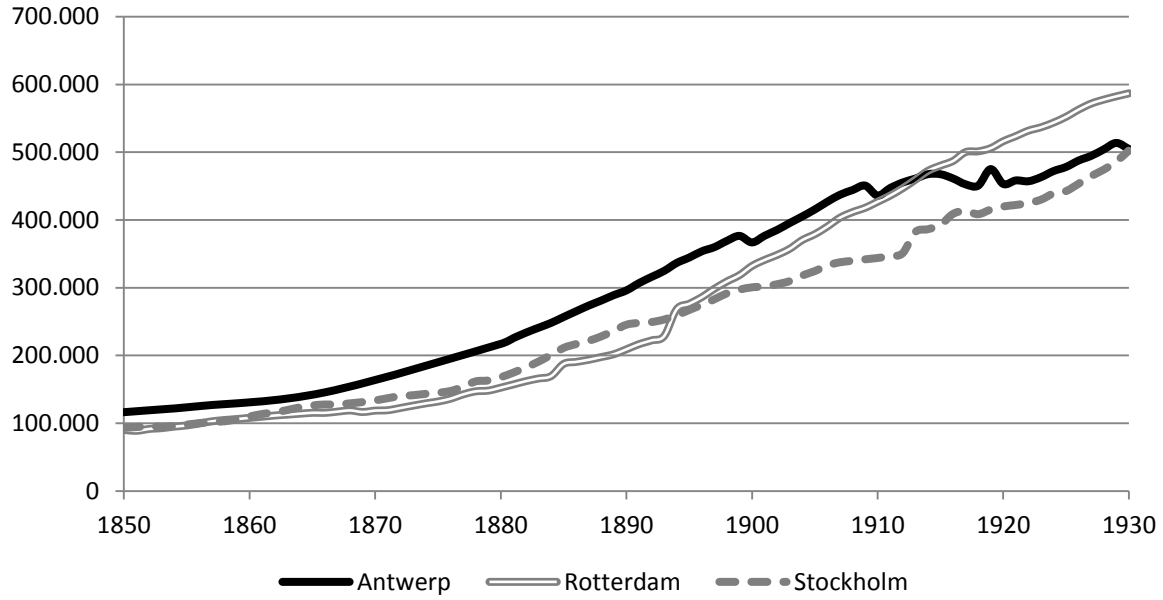
The period of heavy urbanization and strong urban in-migration in European cities came gradually to an end during the first half of the twentieth century and a process of suburbanization started. This was at least partially the result of the fact, that railroads, trams and light railway connections enabled people to commute to nearby cities, making labour migration over short-distances superfluous (Hochstadt 2002; De Block & Polasky 2011). The timing and intensity of the decrease in mobility and the shift towards suburbanization differs between the three cities. In Antwerp saturation of the inner city occurred earliest and for the

Belgian port city the caesura is strongest. From 1919 on, Antwerp city experienced population decrease and in the 1920's more people left the Belgian port city than moved in. In Stockholm suburbanization started only in the 1940's (Nilssson 2006). In Rotterdam, it started also in the 1920's, but due to the annexation of neigbouring municipalities and late fertility decline in the Netherlands, the Dutch port city kept on growing. Nevertheless the relative attraction of Rotterdam city decreased already towards the end of the nineteenth century, as the declining rate of urban in-migration in graph 3.2 clearly shows. The polynomial trend line suggests that Rotterdam reached its zenith of attraction around 1890. In the 1920's somewhat more people moved out of the Dutch port city than moved in (graph 3.4).

3.2 Comparing Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm from a demographic point of view

Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm experienced strong population growth in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, as a result of positive net-migration, mortality decline and the incorporation of neighbouring sub-urban municipalities. Rotterdam was the smallest of the three by 1850, but grew at a slightly higher rate from the 1890's on, through which the Dutch port city became the largest at the beginning of the twentieth century (graph 3.3).

Graph 3.3 Total population of Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm, 1850-1930[2]

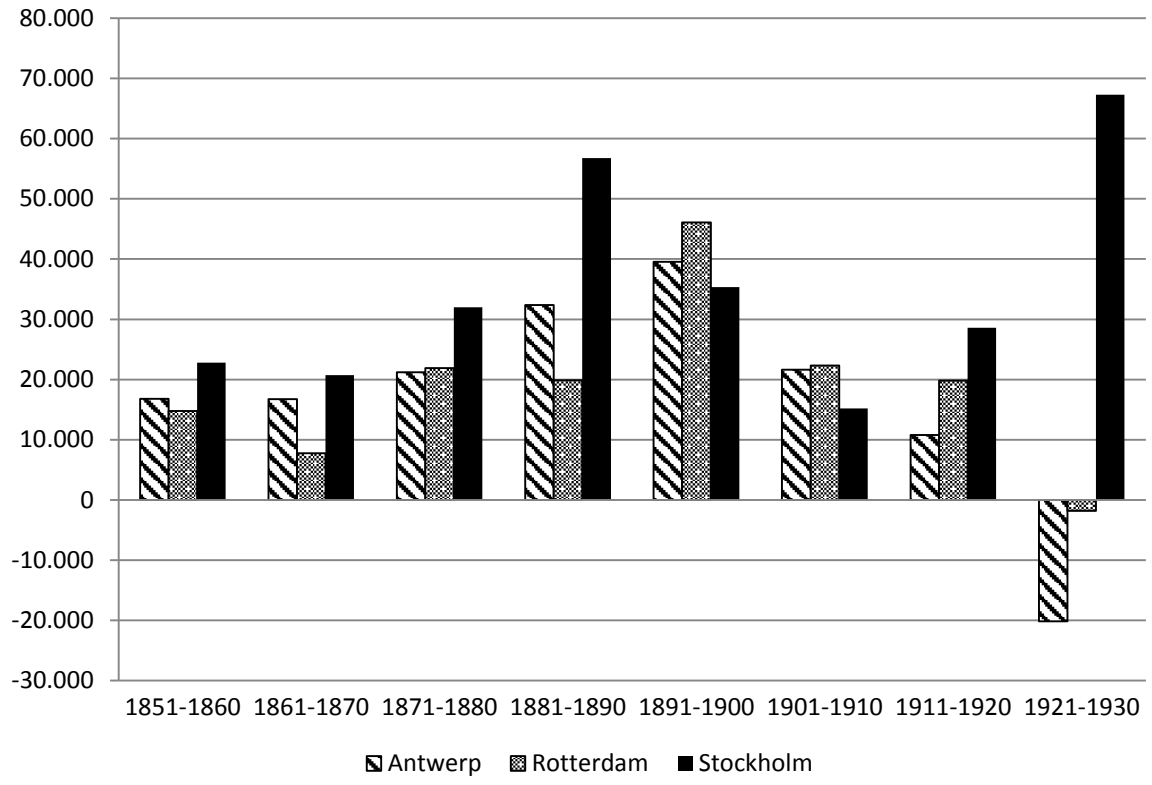


Source: Antwerp: LOKSTAT-database; Rotterdam: Historical Database of Dutch Municipalities; Stockholm: Statistical Yearbooks of Stockholm

[2] In the case of Antwerp the sub-urban municipalities of Berchem, Borgerhout, Deurne, Hoboken, Merksem and Wilrijk are included in the figures

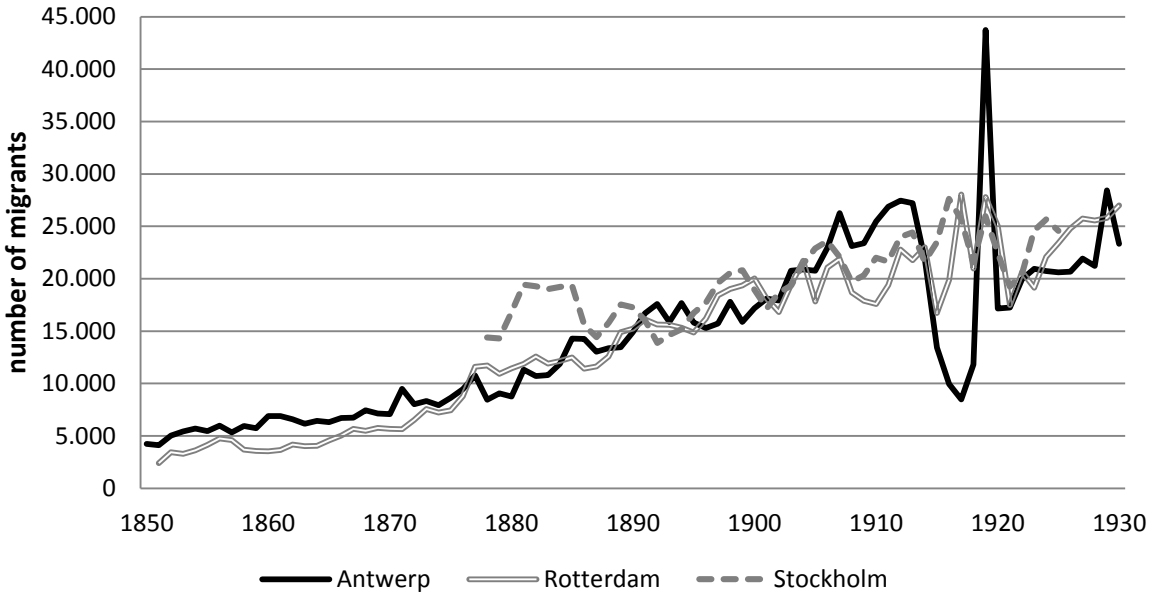
In all three cities more people moved into Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm than left those cities in the period 1850-1920, as is indicated by the positive net-migration in graph 3.4. Absolute net-migration increased in all three cities in the latter half of the nineteenth century, but the increase was much stronger in Stockholm compared to Antwerp and Rotterdam. Subsequently, a decline in net-migration took place, which in Antwerp and Rotterdam continued during the whole period of research and ended in a negative migration balance in the 1920's, signifying that suburbanization had started. This was most distinct for Antwerp, where 20,145 more people left the city than settled there in the 1920's. For Stockholm, by contrast, net-migration increased strongly during the 1910's and 1920's, and net-migration figures reached the highest level of the whole research period. This was mainly a result of declining urban out-migration (graph 3.6), suggesting that Stockholm had more and more opportunities to offer for newcomers.

Graph 3.4 Net-migration in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm, 1850-1930



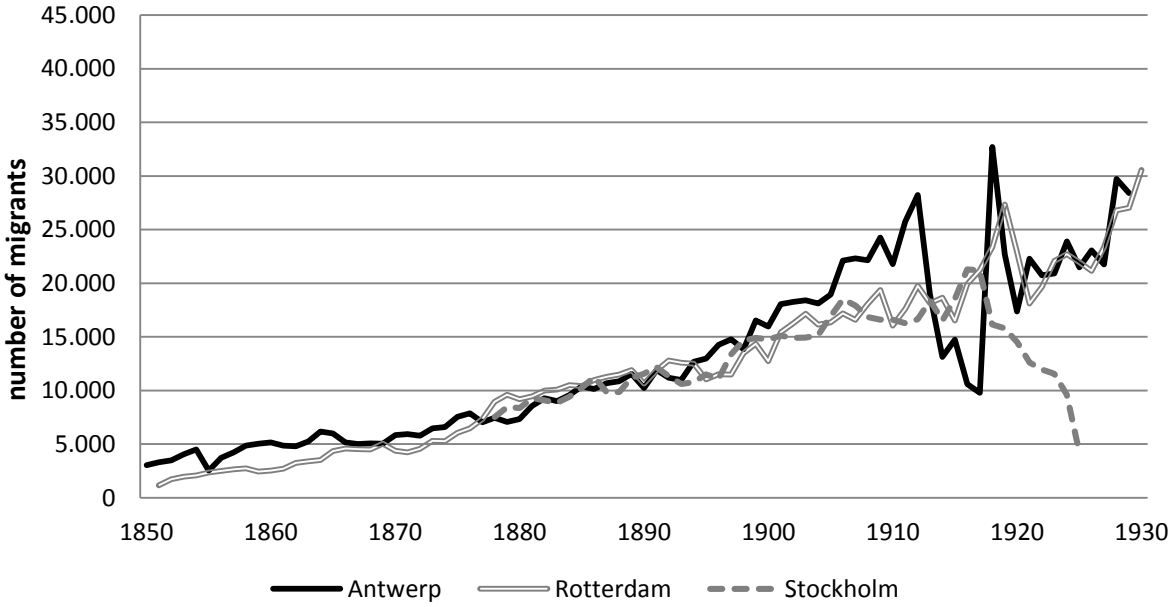
Source: Antwerp: LOKSTAT-databank; Rotterdam: Historical Database of Dutch Municipalities; Stockholm: Statistical Yearbooks of Stockholm

Graph 3.5 Urban in-migration



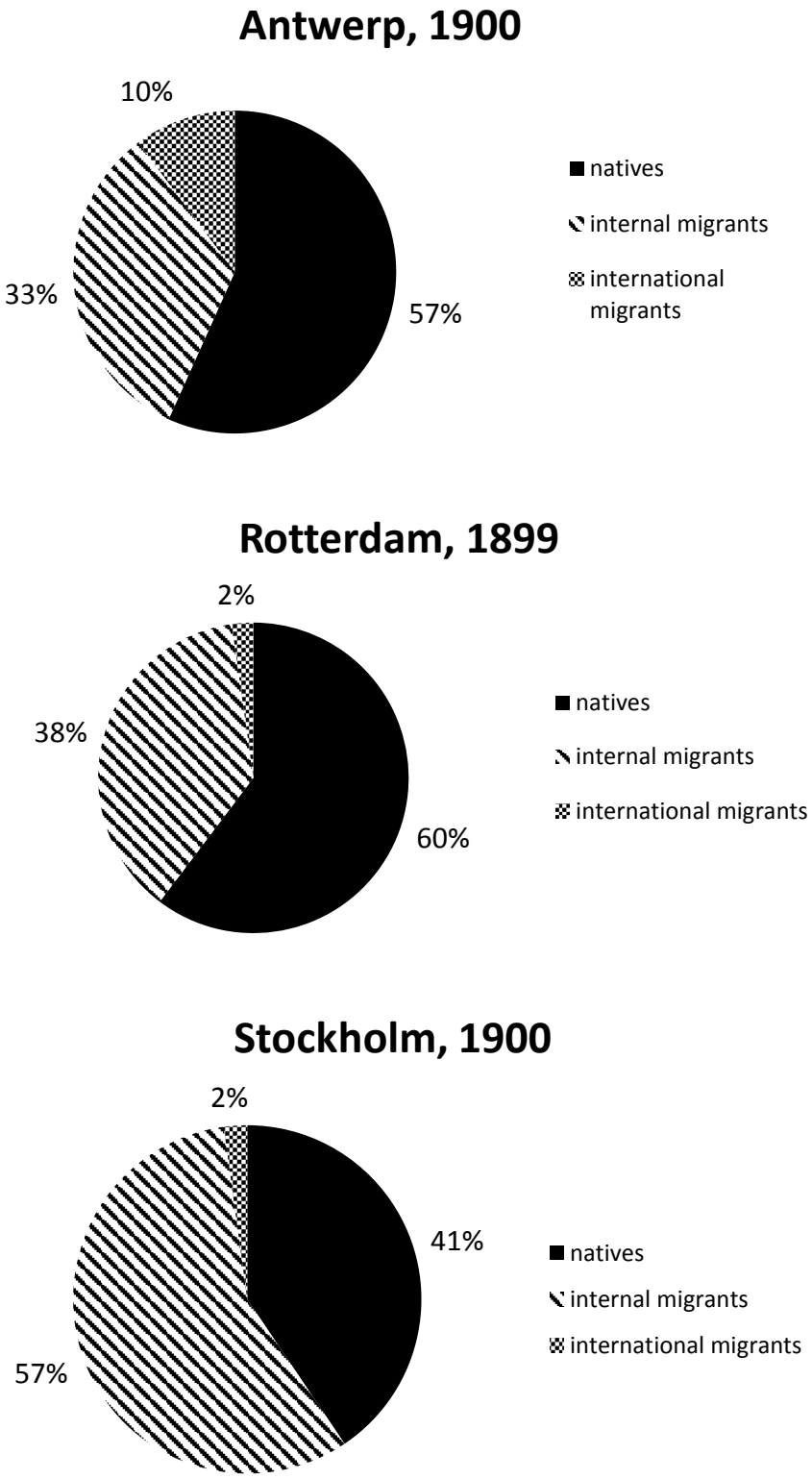
Source: Antwerp: LOKSTAT-databank; Rotterdam: Historical Database of Dutch Municipalities; Stockholm: Estimates based on digitalized part of the Roteman archives, which covered 80% of Stockholm at the time in- and out-migration were calculated.

Graph 3.6 Urban out-migration



Source: Antwerp: LOKSTAT-databank; Rotterdam: Historical Database of Dutch Municipalities; Stockholm: Estimates based on digitalized part of the Roteman archives, which covered 80% of Stockholm at the time in- and out-migration were calculated.

Graph 3.7 Total population of Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm according to birth place in or around 1900



Source: Antwerp: LOKSTAT-databank; Rotterdam: Census of 1899; Stockholm: Statistical Yearbook of Stockholm 1900

Absolute urban in-migration and out-migration followed roughly comparable trends in all three cities (graph 3.5 and 3.6). There are two important exceptions. The first is related to World War I. In 1914 German troops besieged Antwerp, upon which thousands of inhabitants left the city. In total about one million Belgians took refuge in the Netherlands. After the war the majority of the refugees returned (Obdeijn & Schrover 2008). Since Sweden and the Netherlands were not involved in the fighting, in- and out-migration in Rotterdam and Stockholm stayed largely unaffected by the war.

The impact of migration on the demographic development of Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm also becomes clear by comparing the composition of the population according to birth place (graph 3.7). In 1900, 43% of the population of Antwerp and 40% of the population of Rotterdam constituted of first generation migrants. In Stockholm this was an astonishing 59%, meaning that migrant were actually the majority in the Swedish capital. In all three cities the by far largest share of the newcomers were internal migrants. In Rotterdam and Stockholm only 2% of the total population was born abroad. For Antwerp, the situation was quite different as 10% of the total population was born abroad, signifying a large community of international migrants.

3.3 A short historical overview of all three cities, 1850-1930

In this section we will shortly describe the most import political and socio-economic features, events and developments in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm during the period of research, which were likely to have influenced the migrants' likelihood of experiencing social inclusion or exclusion. In addition, we will describe from a demographic point of view the position of the cities in the urban hierarchy of their own country. Last but not least, we will also pay attention to patterns of migration and the features of the migrants in order to get a better idea of who moved to these port cities and for what reasons.

3.3.1 Antwerp

During the nineteenth century Antwerp transformed from a regional textile centre into Europe's second largest port city. This shift in economic activity led to a path of development, which differed substantially from other Belgian cities. Whereas elsewhere in Belgium, especially in the Walloon provinces and the city of Ghent, industrialization started to take root, Antwerp's textile industry declined in the beginning of the nineteenth century and ultimately vanished

completely. Mainly due to a lack of investments, Antwerp had become technologically backward and was no longer able to compete with industrializing textile centres (Lis 1986; Greefs 2008a; 2008b; Winter 2009).

Interestingly enough, no large-scale industrial development took off before World War I and Antwerp became primarily a port and service centre. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, finally some industrialization in the form of ship-building and ship-reparation took root. Moreover, food production, wood, steel and the automobile industry settled in Antwerp (De Brabander 1986). Last, but not least, Antwerp became internationally famous because of its diamond industry. However, during the period of study Antwerp did not turn into a real industrial city, as the port and commercial activities kept on dominating the city's economy to a large degree. Port (and port-related) labour and services offered by far the largest employment opportunities and industry stayed only of local and regional importance. According to De Brabander (1986) Antwerp's industry was in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century so tiny that it could not even stimulate Antwerp's port activities.

The revival of Antwerp as a maritime trade power started in 1795 when the river Scheldt was re-opened. This marked the end of an era of more than two centuries, in which the Dutch had cut-off Antwerp's access to the North Sea (Greefs 2008a; 2008b). Napoleon re-opened the harbour mainly for military purposes, as he judged the location to be of strategic importance vis-à-vis its rival England. Docks were constructed in combination with locks, which made sure that the water level remained stable during shipping (Strubbe 1990). During the period of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands (1814-1830) more docks were constructed and trade increased, thanks to the extended and improved infrastructure, but also due to the favourable business climate. By 1840 - less than half a century after its re-opening - Antwerp had grown into the twelfth most important port in the world in terms of total tonnage enterering the port (Greefs 2008b).

The early period of port expansion shaped interesting opportunities for international migrants (Greefs 2008a; Greefs 2008b). Since the native Antwerp population had been mainly involved in textile industry, there was little experience in shipping and maritime trade among the local trading elite. Moreover, local business men did not have a network of international trading partners. This lack of a social network and specific know-how created an interesting niche for newcomers from abroad (Greefs 2008a). As it turned out, in 1846 almost one third of the businness elite in Antwerp was of foreign descent. Among them were many young German, Dutch, English and French businnesmen with an international network who often originated

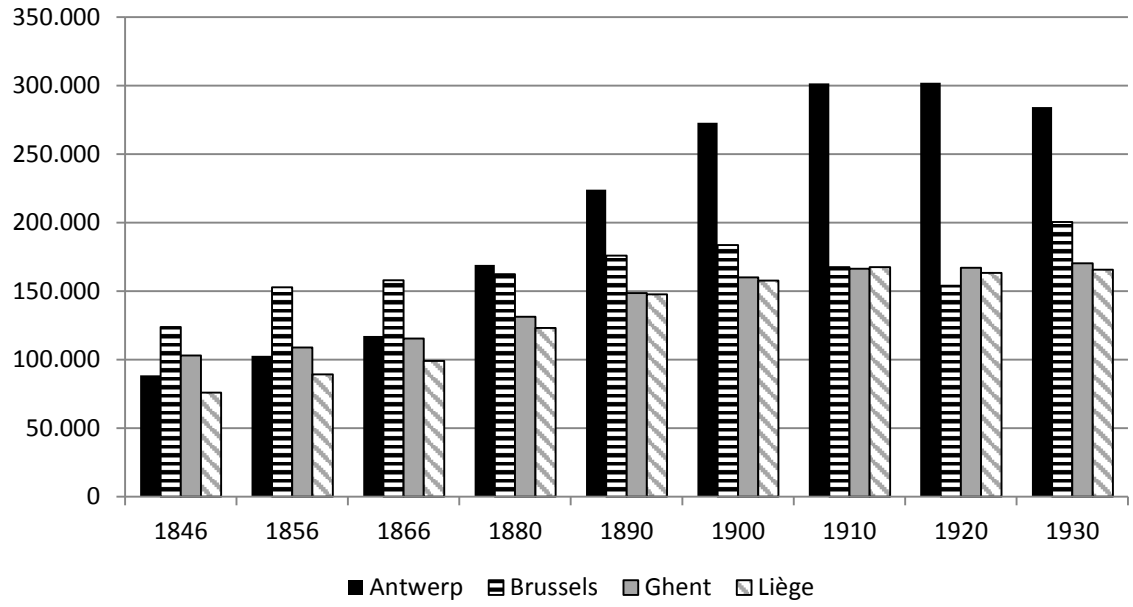
from other port cities. This suggests that there were very good opportunities for international migrants with specific human capital and experience in maritime trade (Greefs 2008a; 2008b; Devos & Greefs 2000). It also suggests that Antwerp was an urban society, which was relatively open to immigrants.

During the whole nineteenth and the early twenieth century Antwerp's port kept on growing and growing. Strong competition with Rotterdam started, which is situated only a hundred kilometer north of Antwerp. This competition was mainly the result of the fact that both port cities share the same coastline and delta in the North Sea and equally served the same hinterland: the German Rhineland and the Ruhr valley, as well as the Walloon provinces of Belgium and Northern France (Loyen et al 2004). Three regions which turned into industrial hot spots during the nineteenth century. At the same time Antwerp (and also Rotterdam) served as a main infrastructural hub between continental Europe and the United Kingodom and North-America. The latter continent was Antwerp's most important non-European trading partner. But not only cargo crossed the Atlantic Ocean via Antwerp. Hundreds of thousands of European emigrants took in Antwerp a ship to the New World. Antwerp's Red Starline connection with North-America expanded quickly between 1870 and 1920 and handled more than 2.7 million passengers, a larger number than that of the *Holland America Line* and the *Compagnie Générale Transatlatlantique* (Vervoort 2000; Hoste & Loyen 2002).

For Antwerp, which lacked, contrary to Rotterdam, a navigable river to its most important hinterlands, transport from and to Germany, Northern France and the Walloon regions had to take place over land. Therefore the construction of a railroad network was crucial. Belgium was the first country in continental Europe, which constructed a railroad, and in the course of the nineteenth century Belgium became one of the countries with the most densely railroad network in the world (De Block & Polasky 2011). Especially the construction of the so-called Iron Rhine (1868-1878), which connected Antwerp through the most southern part of the Netherlands, with the German city of München-Gladbach was crucial. Next to large quantities of cargo, thousands of migrants from Central and Eastern Europe used this railroad to reach Antwerp in order to take there a ship to North-America. Among them were an increasing number of Jews who fled from anti-Semitic outbursts in Eastern Europe. Although a majority of them were transit-migrants, an ever larger community of Jews settled in the Belgian port city. In 1900 some 6,400 Jews lived in Antwerp. By 1936 the number amounted up to about 55,000. The Jews lived segregated lives and became famous for their trade in diamonds (Saerens 1999).

In the course of the nineteenth century, Antwerp became the fastest growing city of the newly founded Belgian kingdom. By 1846 the city on the Scheldt counted a little less than 90,000 inhabitants. By that time Antwerp was the third largest city in Belgium, after Brussels and Ghent. By 1866 Antwerp had surpassed Ghent, and by 1880 also Brussels. During the last two decades of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth century Antwerp's population growth accelerated and it reached more than 300,000 inhabitants, leaving the other major cities of Belgium far behind. However, during the 1910's population growth came to an end and from 1919 on the population of the municipality of Antwerp started to decrease due to suburbanization. The larger Antwerp area (including the suburbs) counted by 1930 almost 514,000 inhabitants.

Graph 3.8 Total population of Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent and Liège, 1850-1930



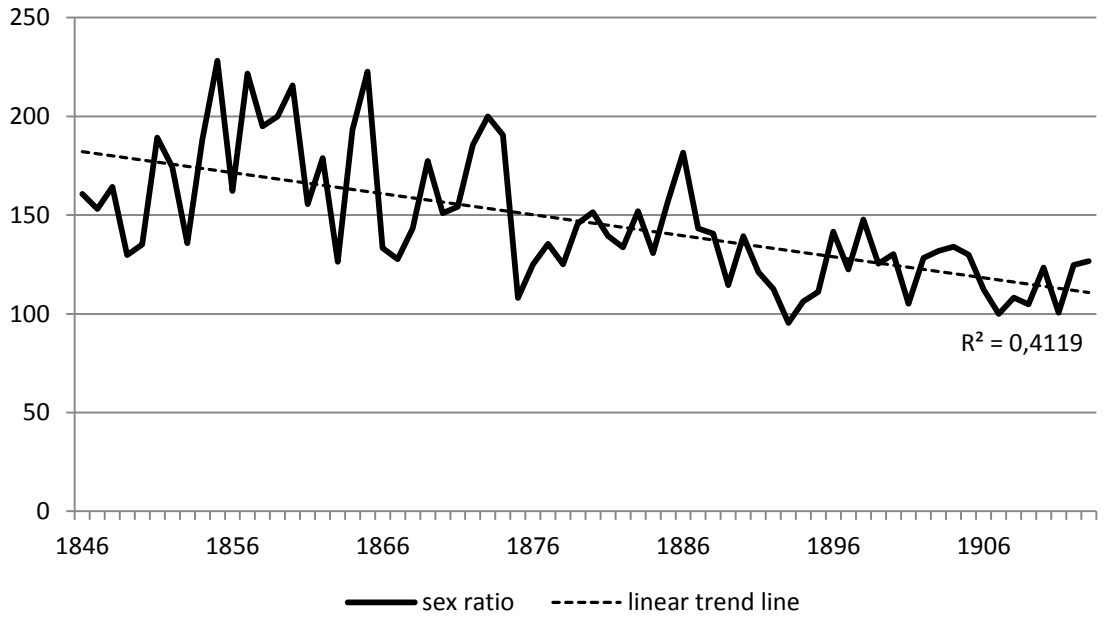
Souce: Kruithof 1964, Belgian population censuses 1910, 1920 & 1930.

Strong population growth was the result of natural population growth and a positive migration balance. According to Jaap Kruijthof (1964), between 57% and 72% of Antwerp's nineteenth-century population growth can be ascribed to migration. By 1800 about 22% of the population was born outside the city, a century later this percentage amounted up to 43% of the population. The largest share of the migrants during the whole period of research originated from the rural hinterland - the province of Antwerp - but gradually the area of recruitment extended, signifying the increased national and international importance of the Belgian port city (Winter 2009). The

largest share of the international migrants were born in the Netherlands and Germany (De Munck, Greefs & Winter 2010).

The fact that Antwerp attracted ever larger shares of migrants was on the one hand a result of growing employment opportunities, on the other hand it was related to agricultural crises in the Belgian countryside (Winter 2009). International migrants were positively selected as proves out of the correlation between social status and migration distance. However, this correlation became less strong during the latter half of the nineteenth century, when increased and cheaper means of transportation enabled the labouring classes to move over ever longer distances and the demand for low-skilled port labour increased (Greefs & De Winter 2014).

Graph 3.9 Ratio of males to females among observed in-migrations in Antwerp



Source: Antwerp COR*-database

Whereas in the beginning of the nineteenth century Antwerp's textile industry had attracted substantial numbers of (skilled) females, the situation was quite different in the latter half of the nineteenth century when the port dominated the urban economy. During this period Antwerp attracted more males than females, as port labour demanded physical strength (Winter 2009; Greefs & Winter 2014). Male dominance was especially outspoken in the period 1850-1875 when the port expanded at high speed (see graph 3.3). In the latter quarter of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century, the male dominance among migrants declined gradually, but females were at the end of the research period still under-represented among the newly-arrivals.

On averages males moved over longer distances than females. In the period 1850-1880 international male migrants were born on average 415 km born away from Antwerp, while this was on average only 210 km for international female migrants. However, during the same period the average distance to the birth place increased constantly, while it remained relatively stable for males. The gender-gap was thus gradually declining (Greefs & Winter 2014).

3.3.2 Rotterdam

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Rotterdam was a trading city, where money was earned according to the principles of the Dutch staple market. Products were being bought abroad where they were in large quantities available and could be obtained for cheap prices. These products were being shipped to Rotterdam and stored in large warehouses, where they stayed until somewhere else in the world a shortage of these products arose and prices in that area rose substantially. Thereupon the products were sold and shipped to that specific area. Consequently, merchants, sail ships and storehouses dominated Rotterdam until the middle of the nineteenth century. In this position Rotterdam rivalled with Amsterdam, but stayed the second city of the Netherlands in terms of population and trade (Van de Laar 2000).

In the second half of the nineteenth century industrialisation and improved means of transportation made the old model of the staple market gradually inexpedient. Large industries were increasingly in want of a constant supply of raw materials and the transport of finished goods to selling areas. In this new economic landscape Rotterdam became increasingly a transit port, notwithstanding the large opposition towards this trend by the local trading elite, who preferred to keep their position as middlemen (Van de Laar 2000; 2003). The fact that Rotterdam was directly connected to Germany's main industrial areas - the Rhineland and the Ruhr valley - by a navigable river turned out to be a strong geographic advantage compared to its main competitors in the Low Countries: Amsterdam and Antwerp. Next, Rotterdam's success as a transit port was strongly related to the Act of Mannheim, which led to the liberalization of Rhine traffic (Van Klink 2003), and the construction of the *Nieuwe Waterweg* ("New Waterway"), which when it was opened in 1872, gave even to the world's largest ocean vessels direct access to the port (Van de Laar 2000; Weigend 1973). The construction of a railway, which connected Rotterdam with the southern Netherlands, Germany and Belgium was also important (Van de Laar 2000; 2003).

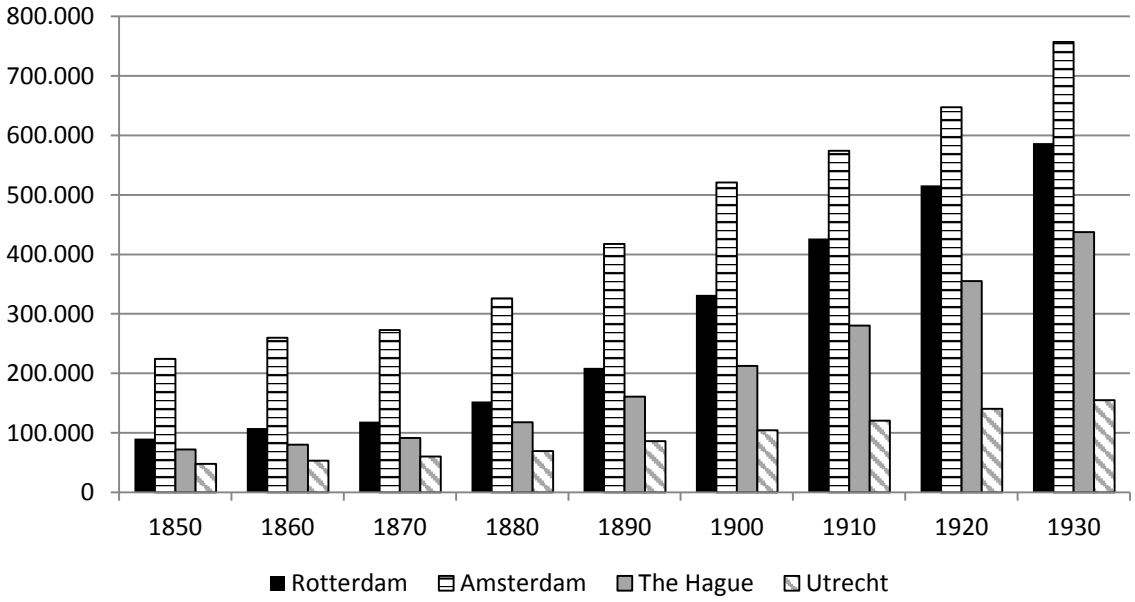
During the whole period of research Rotterdam's port grew further and further and turned into Europe's largest port. Ores and corn were the main products which were being shipped to Germany in the nineteenth century. In the first decades of the twentieth century, petroleum and petroleum products, became increasingly important. Next, Rotterdam started to ship an ever larger share of Germany's coal export. This was an important and lucrative development, as ships which transported ore to Germany no longer returned empty. The predominance of ever larger quantitates of bulk goods fostered transport by Rhine vessels and led to a shrinkage in transport by train (Van de Laar 2000). The competition between Antwerp and Rotterdam became increasingly intensive in the interwar period, and both ports aimed to increase their market share, a process, which in many ways continues until today. Investments in cargo-handling technologies in both cities aimed to reduce shipping costs and improve the competitive position, although contemporary research suggests that these investment did not lead to a shift in the position of Rotterdam vis-à-vis Antwerp (Loyen et al 2015). Rotterdam handled in the long run much more cargo, but Antwerp's trade volume was more diversified, making it less vulnerable to economic crisis. The fact that Rotterdam shipped more cargo seems to have been especially the result of its superior geographic position: It had better access to the sea and was connected by river to the German hinterland (Loyen et al 2015).

Although the port was the main employer in Rotterdam - in 1909 55% of the working population was active in the port - Rotterdam had important industries during the period of research (Van de Laar 2000). Some industries had old roots and experienced a revival under influence of mechanization and port development. This was for example the case for breweries and distilleries. Other branches, like soap- and margarine making, and oil refineries (mainly after World War I), were new and developed along the transit trade (Van de Laar 2000). Textile industry, was an important sector, and offered mainly opportunities for women, as they occupied two-thirds of the working population in this sector of the economy. Construction was another important sector, which boosted as a result of Rotterdam's strong population growth. Ship construction and metallurgy, cooperage, sugar refinery, the tobacco industry and margarine-making were the most important port-related industries (Van de Laar 2000).

Whereas Antwerp and Stockholm were the largest cities in respectively Belgium and Sweden, Rotterdam was only second in the urban hierarchy of The Netherlands (graph 3.10). Amsterdam was during the whole period 1850-1930 the largest city of the Netherlands. In 1850, Rotterdam counted a bit more than 90,000 inhabitants and its population was only a bit larger compared to that of The Hague with 72,000 inhabitants. Amsterdam counted more than twice the population of Rotterdam. By 1900, Rotterdam had a population of 332,000 inhabitants. In

half a century its population had been multiplied by 3,5. Amsterdam counted by then already more than half a million inhabitants, but The Hague with some 212,000 inhabitants had stayed well behind Rotterdam. Utrecht, the fourth major city of the Netherlands, with a population of 104,000 inhabitants was considerable smaller. In the next decades the relative differences in population size between the four principal cities remained more or less the same. Amsterdam reached 757,000 inhabitants in 1930 and Rotterdam counted by that time some 587,000; The Hague had a population of 438,000 inhabitants and Utrecht reached only 155,000.

Graph 3.10 Total population of Rotterdam, Amsterdam, The Hague and Utrecht



Source: Historical Database of Dutch Municipalities.

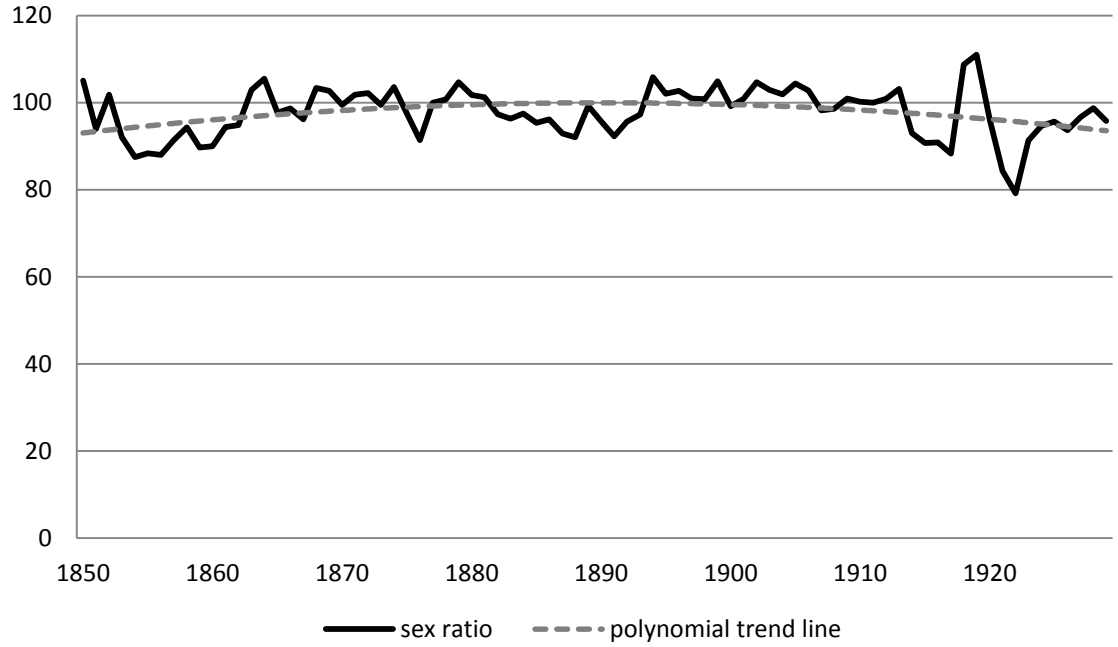
Like in Antwerp and Stockholm population growth in Rotterdam was a result of a combination of natural population growth and a positive migration balance. The population census of 1849 indicates, that 68% of the population was native born. 16,5% of the population was born in the province of Zuid-Holland and constituted of short-distance migrants; 12% was born in another province of the Netherlands. Only 3,5% of the population was born abroad. Among the international migrants, the Germans were the largest group (N=1661), followed by Belgians (N=804) and the English (N=364).

By 1899 relatively little had changed in this composition: 60% was native born, 19% of the population was born in the province of Zuid-Holland, 19% in another Dutch province and the share of international migrants had declined to 2%. The share of medium- and long-distance

internal migrants had obviously increased, while the share of the native-born had decreased, showing the increased importance of internal migration. However, the share of international migrants had become smaller. Among the international migrants the German community (N=3336) had grown much larger than that of other foreign nationalities, which is not surprising giving the increased trade relations with Germany. The number of Belgians had declined to 557. Italians and citizens from France (n=123), the Austrian-Hungarian Empire (n=131) and Italy (n=38) had become categories in the census, but their numbers were tiny. By 1930 the share of native-borns had grown again (66%), signifying that the influence of urban in-migration had declined. The share of international migrants had grown though to almost 3%. With some 6,170 citizens the Germans were in 1930 still by far the largest international migrant group.

Contrary to Antwerp, Rotterdam attracted somewhat more females than males during the period of study, but over the period as a whole the number of male and female migrants were relatively balanced (graph 3.11). The polynomial trend line suggest that the numbers of arriving males and females was most balanced during the middle of the research period, while towards the beginning and the end more females than males arrived in Rotterdam.

Graph 3.11: Ratio of males to females among observed in-migrations in Rotterdam



Source: Source: Historical Database of Dutch Municipalities.

3.3.3 Stockholm

The middle of the nineteenth century marks a clear turning point in Stockholm's history. The century between 1750 and 1850 had been characterized by economic and demographic stagnation, of such severity that the development of Sweden's capital fell behind the national average. Major industries had moved to Norrköping, thanks to its availability of water power. Stockholm had gone through a period of deindustrialization, a decline in foreign trade, a decrease in the wages of unskilled labourers, and as a result of very high mortality, Sweden's capital had experienced only very weak demographic growth (Söderberg, Jonsson & Persson 1991).

From the middle of the nineteenth century things changed for the better with the abolishment of the guild system in 1846 and the introduction of full free trade in 1864 (Hall 1997). The lack of water power, which had kept Stockholm's industry behind in the previous century, was no longer a handicap, thanks to the introduction of steam power, which proved to be a superior source of energy. From 1860 on the wages of industrial labourers started to rise substantially, signifying the larger demand for man power in industry (Molitoris & Dribe 2013). During the 1870's, industrialization accelerated and Stockholm developed into an industrial hot spot. In the mid-1890s, Stockholm hosted around 600 industries with a total of about 21,500 industrial workers. Ten years later, the number of industries had increased to about 750 and the number of workers employed to around 31.000. In addition, Stockholm's immediate suburbs also experienced a considerable industrialisation. The capital and its vicinity represented 15% of Sweden's industrial output value around 1905 and remained the country's most pronounced industrial district in the earliest decades of the 20th century.

Stockholm's manifold industry can partly be explained by the capital position. Scientific and cultural institutions facilitated foreign contacts, and technological innovations often reached Stockholm earlier than other parts of Sweden. Local industrialists were able to take advantage of this situation. Engineering industry was one important cornerstone; large mechanical workshops such as Bolinders, Atlas, the shipyards, and later some of the so-called 'genius industries' – telephone manufacturer L. M. Ericsson and AB Separator – provided employment. The food and stimulus industry played another major role; Stockholm's breweries experienced for example a period of prosperity in the latter half of the 19th century. Well-off circles around the royal court and the civil service departments contributed to keep up the demand for foodstuffs. Like in most countries, the graphic industry in general and the printing-

houses in particular, constituted typically capital-based industries whose vitality was safeguarded by the demands of the government, the parliament and the civil service departments (Högberg 1981; Ahlenius & Kempe 1909).

The construction from 1855 on of the Swedish railroad network was important too for Stockholm's development and facilitated at the same time urban in-migration. In 1862 the main west-east railroad came in operation which connected Stockholm with Gothenburg. Thanks to the opening of the line with Malmö in 1864, Stockholm was both better connected to Southern Sweden, as well as to continental Europe, including Copenhagen and Hamburg (Hall 1997; Molitoris & Dribe 2013). Stockholm's steamship connections with nearby regions, remoter areas of Sweden, Finland, as well as with foreign cities like Sankt Petersburg, Reval and Lübeck served the same goals. The steamship leaving for Lübeck once every fortnight provided a comfortable connection to continental Europe at an early stage (Högberg, 1981)

Stockholm's port was undoubtedly important for the local economy; no other Swedish city was as dependent of shipping in the 19th century. Early 19th century Stockholm was a major port for exports of iron from the nearby Bergslagen district and timber from northern Sweden. However, the importance of Stockholm's merchant navy and the capital as a port for exports gradually declined in favour of Gothenburg, notwithstanding major investment in Stockholm's quays in the 1850's (Högberg 1981; Hall 1997). The capital remained however the country's major port of imports and it was not uncommon that fully loaded ships arriving in Stockholm had to leave the port in ballast. "Daily" shipping was of course also important; dairy products, fish and berries as well as wood, hay and building materials came with yachts and rowing-boats from the archipelago and other parts of Sweden. (Högberg 1981)

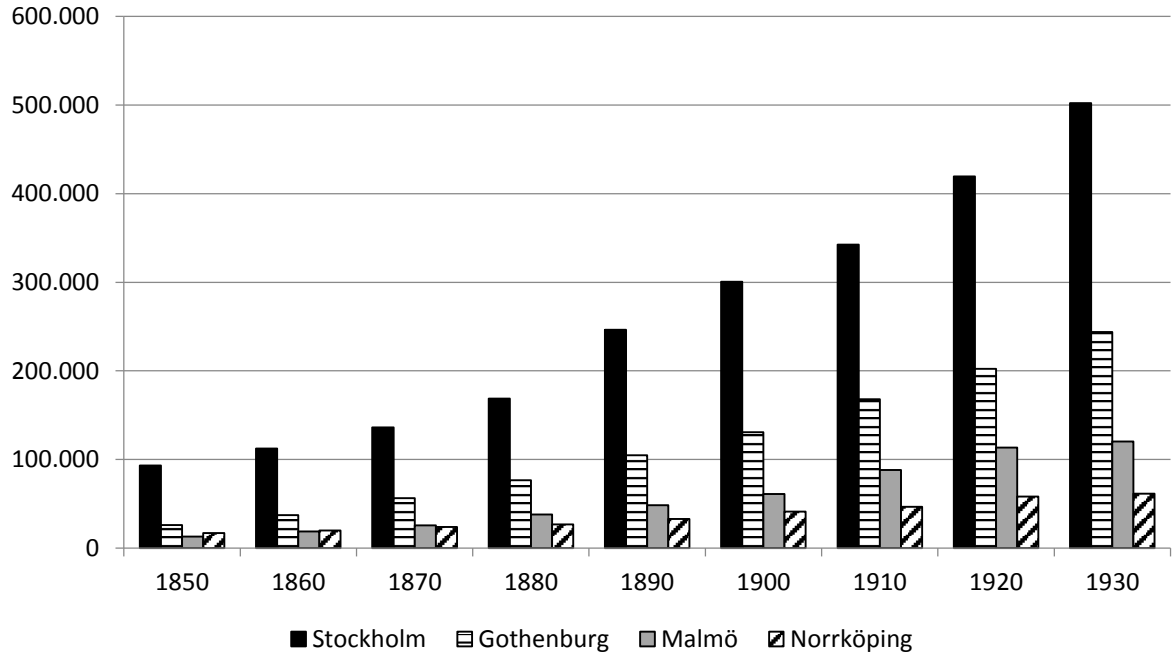
The port was of course also of importance for migrants. One thing was that it provided employment opportunities. Employment in the port was depicted as hard, unhealthy and poorly paid in the beloved novel suite about Stockholm from mid-19th to mid-20th century by author Per-Anders Fogelström. (Fogelström & Bäverstam, 2000). This was almost certainly true for the lumpenproletariat, of whom many could only count on temporary employment. A lot of the loading and unloading of ships was however carried out by workers organised according to the statutes of a guild. Over time, stevedore firms began to push these organised dock workers aside, but storehouse workers, measurers and measurers working with weighing were often able to remain in work and so were heavers of grain.

Stockholm's economic growth was coupled with substantial demographic expansion. By 1850 Sweden's capital counted 93,000 inhabitants and was by far the largest city of Sweden. Gothenburg with only some 26,000 inhabitants was the second largest city and Norrköping the

third largest. The fourth largest was Karlskona, which was, however, soon surpassed by Malmö. By 1870 Malmö had also surpassed Norrköping. From then on Sweden's urban hierarchy remained stable. During the whole period of research Stockholm was the largest city of Sweden. Around the turn of the twentieth century it surpassed 300,000 inhabitants and by 1930 it was home to more than half a million inhabitants.

Both Stockholm's mortality decline and its total migration turnover deviated from most other major European cities in the mid-nineteenth century: Mortality was extremely high, especially compared to the surrounding countryside, and the same can be said about the migration turnover.

Graph 3.12 Total population of Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö and Norrköping



Source: http://ortshistoria.se/befolkning/

By the mid-nineteenth century there were no water pipes, and Stockholm's inhabitants had to rely on water from wells and lakes, which were often polluted. Next, housing conditions were poor and people lived in overcrowded neighbourhoods. The lack of a central garbage system and the absence of a sewage system were another deficiency. Consequently, epidemic diseases, especially diarrhoea, pneumonia, measles, tuberculosis and meningitis spread easily (Macasse et al 2005).

Things improved enormously with the implementation of the new city plan of the Lindhagen committee, which included a complete restructuring of Stockholm in line with Hausmann's reorganization of Paris. As a result, Stockholm received wider streets and boulevards and more green spaces. In addition, strict building regulations were implemented and water pipes and a sewage system were being provided (Hall 1997). It lasted, however, at least until 1890 before all households were connected to the mains (Burström et al 1998). The positive result, can, however, been derived from mortality statistics. From about 1860 on epidemics became less frequent and less deadly and a gradual decline in the crude death rate started, which continued through the whole research period.

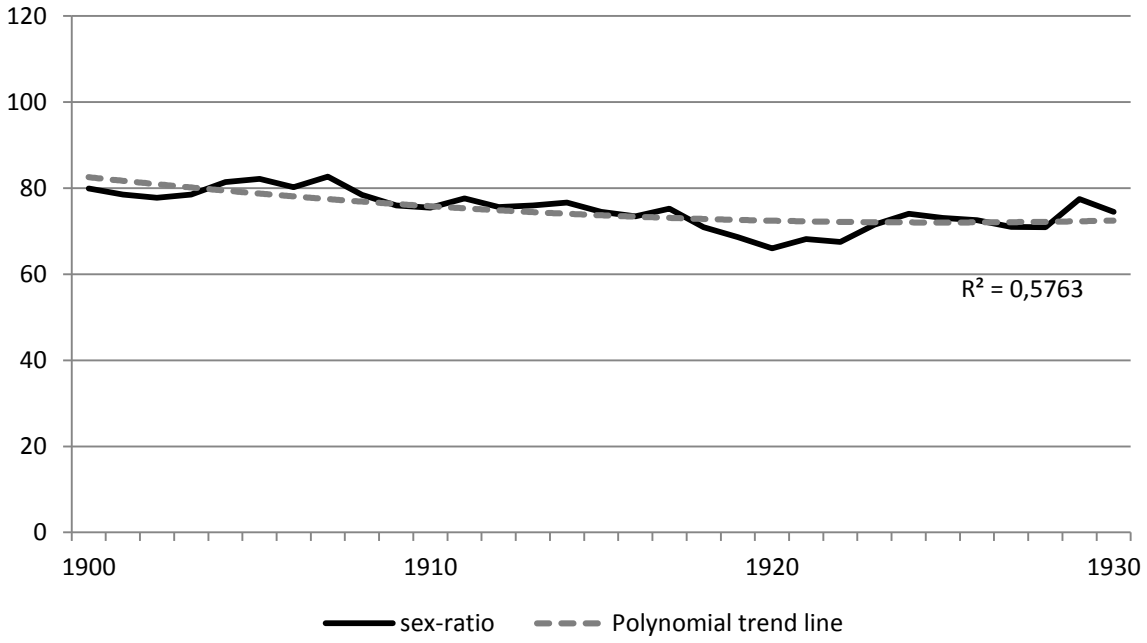
In 1860 only 43% of Stockholm's population was born in the city itself; consequently 57% of its inhabitants were migrants. Of all major European cities only Paris had by the time a lower share of natives (36%) (Söderberg, Jonsson & Persson 1991). International migrants constituted only 2% of the total population. The huge majority of the urban in-migrants were domestic migrants. In the 1910 census, it was stated that Sweden's remoteness led to one of the lowest numbers of 'strangers' in Europe, and Hammar (1964) concludes that only one percent of the country's interwar population was born abroad.

The Swedish newcomers, for a considerable part of rural descent, equally had to adapt to Stockholm's urban labour market. At first sight, internal migrants seem to have had some advantages compared to international migrants, since they had Swedish-specific human capital in terms of language and communicational skills at their disposal. Moreover, internal migrants in Stockholm might have become less isolated upon arrival since their movement to the capital was more likely part of a wider chain of migration and because their language skills enabled them to get into contact with a wide range of Swedes living in Stockholm. A closer look, at the countries of birth of international migrants, suggest, however, that at least half of the international newcomers might have had few communicational problems, since they either had Swedish (Finland-Swedes and return migrants) or another Scandinavian language as their mother tongue. Like in Antwerp and Rotterdam, the large majority of the international migrants originated indeed from neighbouring countries. By 1900, 46,% of the international migrants was born in Finland, Norway and Denmark. The largest non-Nordic groups were the Germans (N=1508) and Russians (N=675). The latter group consisted mostly of Jews.

Graph 3.13 shows that Stockholm attracted considerably more females than males and the trend line shows that this increased further until the 1920's. The attraction of females can in part be explained by the relatively favourable position of women in Sweden, which enabled them to move more freely, compared to women elsewhere in the world by that time. Next,

women were highly active in the labour market. Around 1870, about a third of the industrial labour force in Sweden were women. In the early and less mechanised factories, women (and children) were often "assistants" to male workers like weavers or cigar makers. Industrial work was organised as a household: the man was a work manager, responsible to the factory owners and distributed the wage in the shift. These relations were changed with mechanisation. Industrialisation implied that women got a chance to support themselves, even if they often got subordinate and simpler tasks that were less paid compared to male work.

Graph 3.13 Ratio of males to females among observed in-migrations in Stockholm



In many cases, women could overtake male tasks and run machines. This was attractive to the factory owners as female wages were lower. At the wool factories, for example, women had already in the mid-19th century taken care of preparatory tasks such as carding, whereas the weaving the clothes was a male task and an important handicraft. The introduction of the mechanical loom implied that women could overtake the running and thereby also a degradation of the craft. In late 19th century Sweden, women made up two thirds of the workers in the textile industry and constituted large shares also in food processing industry, match factories, shoe factories, rubber factories as well as electro-chemical factories. However, the female shares remained low in heavy industries such as metal, wood and engineering (Schön, *En modern*

svensk ekonomisk historia, 185; Wikander, "Kvinnor och arbete", www.ub.gu.se/kvinn/portaler/arbete/historik/, 2014-06-15).

3.4 A summary of similarities and differences

In sum, Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm experienced strong population growth during the period 1850-1930. Urban in-migration played a major role in all three cities and trends in in- and out-migration were highly similar during the period of study. Over the period as a whole net-migration was higher in Stockholm than in Antwerp and Rotterdam. The difference was strongly pronounced in the period 1920-1930, but over the period as a whole the share of natives in the total population had been smaller than in the other two cities. Antwerp hosted a much larger community of international migrants than Rotterdam and Stockholm In all three cities a majority of the immigrants were from neighbouring countries. Antwerp attracted more male migrants than female migrants due to its dominance of port labour, which demanded physical strength. Stockholm received by contrast more female migrants, while the gender balance was relatively equal for Rotterdam.

As a capital city with large-scale capital-intensive industries, Stockholm offered interesting job opportunities to the higher and middle classes as wells as to high skilled labourers. Opportunities for low skilled migrants declined by contrast during the period of study. Rotterdam with its diversified labour market (port-related labour and important industries) shaped a good climate for skilled and unskilled migrants, while Antwerp was especially appealing to uneducated and unexperienced rural migrants, due to the fact that the port dominated the labour market. At the same time, a lack of experience in maritime trade among the local business elite in Antwerp shaped also opportunities in trade for skilled immigrants with an international trade network, at least until about the middle of the nineteenth century.

Table 3.1 Similarities and differences between the three cities

	Antwerp	Rotterdam	Stockholm
Economic function	Primarily a port city	Port city with important industries	Industrial hotspot with port of secondary importance
Labour market situation	Large demand for low-skilled labourers; niche for international migrants with experience in maritime trade	Demand for both low-skilled and high-skilled labourers	Increasing demand for high-skilled labourers; Demand for high-educated administrative and diplomatic personnel.
Political Function	No administrative centre	No administrative centre	Capital
Urban hierarchy	Largest city in the country	Second largest city in the country	Largest city in the country
Demographic growth	Strong population growth due to large urban in-migration and natural population growth	Strong population growth due to large urban in-migration and natural population growth	Strong population growth due to large urban in-migration and natural population growth
Origin of migrants	Majority of internal migrants, relatively *large* share of international migrants, mainly from neighbouring countries	Majority of internal migrants, relatively *small* share of international migrants, mainly from neighbouring countries	Majority of internal migrants, relatively *small* share of international migrants, mainly from neighbouring countries
Gender balance urban in-migrants	Majority of male migrants	Relatively balanced, small majority of females	Strong over-representation of female in-migrants.

4 Better Late than Never

Access to marriage and reproduction among internal and international migrants

This chapter draws in part upon the following publications:

Puschmann P., Van den Driessche, N., Grönberg P., Van de Putte, B. & K. Matthijs. (2015). From Outsiders to Insiders? Partner Choice and Marriage among Internal Migrants in Antwerp, Rotterdam & Stockholm, 1850-1930, *Historical Social Research - Historische Sozial-forschung* 40 (2), 319-358.

Puschmann, P., Grönberg P., Schumacher, R. & K. Matthijs. (2014). Access to Marriage and Reproduction among Migrants in Antwerp and Stockholm. A Longitudinal Approach to Processes of Social Inclusion and Exclusion, 1846-1926, *The History of the Family* 19 (1), 29-52.

Puschmann, P., Van den Driessche, N., Matthijs, K. & B. Van de Putte, B. (2012). Marginalisatie en huwelijkssluiting onder migranten. Het acculturatieproces van migranten in de havenstad Antwerpen vanuit levensloopperspectief (1846-1920), In: K. Matthijs, J. Kok & H. Bras (eds.). *Leren van Historische Levenslopen : Historisch-demografisch onderzoek in Vlaanderen en Nederland*. (Pp. 145-180) Leuven/ The Hague: Acco.

4.1 Introduction

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Belgium, the Netherlands and Sweden were characterized by the so-called (Western) European marriage pattern of late marriage and considerable proportions of life-time singles. Thomas Malthus (1798/1960) was the first to draw attention to the fact that nuptiality in Western European countries was lower than elsewhere in the world. In his famous 'Essay on the principle of population', the English demographer, economist and clergyman pointed out that postponement and abandonment of marriage could avoid human disasters, resulting from situations in which population growth exceeded food production. By postponing marriage, couples were able to lower their fertility within marriage and avoid poverty and misery. He had already observed this behaviour in what he called 'the civilized states of modern Europe.' Elsewhere in the world marriage was early and universal and therefore Malthus expected fertility to be high.[3]

John Hajnal (1965; 1983) collected nuptiality data, which he used to show that Europeans, West of the imaginary line running from Leningrad to Trieste, married later and less than the rest of the world population.[4] He argued that these different geographic patterns in nuptiality were the result of different household formation systems. Whereas elsewhere in the world couples moved after marriage into the household of the parents of the groom or the bride, Western Europeans were expected to establish a new household, which required financial independence and the accumulation of resources. Accordingly, youngsters in this specific part of the world spent an extensive period in singlehood, in which they accumulated resources for married life. Young craftsmen worked as apprentices in the hope of obtaining the position of master, sons of farmers worked until they inherited their parents' farm or until they were able to buy their own farm, and single women worked as domestic servants, which allowed them to save for a trousseau and to obtain experiences that would enable them to run their own household.

Katherine Lynch (1991:83) discovered that cities were characterized by 'an exaggerated version of the European marriage pattern,' as ages at marriage were even higher and proportions of (life-time) singles larger than in the European countryside. She ascribes this firstly to the large presence of rural-to-urban migrants in cities. Indeed, scholars have found time after time

[3] Later research pointed out that fertility in China (used as antithesis of Western Europe by Malthus and later demographers) was much lower than expected on the basis of high nuptiality. See for example: Wolf & Engelen (2008).

[4] Ever since Hajnal's seminal articles, scholars in the field have debated the geographic delineation of the European marriage pattern. See for example: Engelen & Wolf (2005)

that migrants in pre-modern and modern Western European cities married later and less than natives (Lee 1999; Van Poppel 1992; Oris 2000; Kok 2006a; Moreels & Matthijs 2011). Although some alternative explanations have been formulated – which we will return to later - historical demographers have usually interpreted the lower nuptiality among migrants as a consequence of the difficulties of becoming incorporated into the receiving society. Before migrants were able to marry, they had to find a suitable partner, a dwelling spacious enough to house a family, a certain degree of economic independence in order to sustain themselves, their partner and future children and, last but not least, migrants had to fulfil the legal requirements of marriage of the time. Generally, these aims were harder for migrants to achieve due to a combination of a lack of resources, prejudices, discrimination and the specific legal framework.

We assume that those migrants unable to find a partner, set up an independent household, marry and have children faced social exclusion in core domains of the receiving urban society. Indeed, marriage and becoming a parent were two of the most important transitions in the life course of both natives and migrants in the Western European past, and they were closely linked to other major events, like leaving home, becoming a head of a household and inheritance transmission (Dribe, Manfredini & Oris 2014). Migrants who found a partner in the receiving society, married and started a family experienced a certain degree of social inclusion (cf. De Graaf & Kalmijn 2003).

The aim of this chapter is to study which of the migrants who moved as singles to a city, obtained access to marriage and reproduction and which migrants remained excluded. We analyze individual characteristics that facilitated or hampered the social inclusion process. In addition to socio-demographic characteristics, like sex, age at arrival and place of settlement within the city, we study features of migrants that serve as proxies for their human capital. The combination of these features, we believe, is a good measure of the agency of individual migrants. By comparing different outcomes between cities, we aim to get a better insight into the influence of structural elements in the receiving society on the likelihood of marriage and family formation.

We conduct three analyses. First, we analyze the likelihood of getting married among internal migrants who settled as singles in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm. For this purpose, we make use of a binomial logistic regression with the outcome variable marrying versus staying single. Next, we will carry out discrete-time event-history analyses for internal and international migrants in Antwerp and Stockholm, in which the time between arrival in the

city and marriage, on the one hand, and the time between arrival and the birth of the first child on the other, function as dependent variables.[5]

4.2 The ensemble of agency and structure

Processes of social in- and exclusion are generated by complex sets of interactions between migrants and the receiving society. Whether outsiders become insiders is dependent of the *agency* of migrants within certain *structures* (Giddens 1971; Bourdieu 1984). In this chapter, the three cities and their specific historical context function as structures. The three receiving urban societies consisted of various fields with their own *habitus* (Bourdieu 1984). The concept of habitus refers to the social constructions that encompass common frames of reference and patterns of action, which natives have internalized from an early age, but which migrants only encounter upon arrival in the host society. This habitus is important as it produces and reproduces power relations within the field (Clycq 2009).

Within the different fields of society, historical actors had a certain degree of freedom to manoeuvre. This human *agency* was dependent, to a considerable degree, upon the human capital that migrants had at their disposal. Bourdieu (1984) distinguishes between economic, cultural and social capital. Economic capital refers to the economic assets that historical actors used to obtain power within society. Cultural capital is the set of cultural competences that are linked to higher social positions in the field. This is basically an umbrella term for education, knowledge and taste. Social capital refers to the social relations individuals have in society. Another important form of human capital that influenced the opportunities of migrants to obtain access to marriage and reproduction - although much more difficult to measure (especially in the historical context) - is erotic or sexual capital (Hakim 2010).

Following the logic of social exchange theory (Blau 1964; Homans 1958), we assume that migrants tried to obtain all kinds of scarce items in different fields of the receiving society by means of human capital: a job in the labour market, a dwelling in the housing market, a partner in the marriage market, etc. The extent to which migrants were successful in obtaining those scarce items was, on the one hand, dependent on the amount of human capital they possessed and, on the other hand, on the local opportunity structure. Discrimination and stigmatization played a role too (Lucassen 2005a; Lucassen, Feldman & Oltmer 2006).

[5] The DVI sample with the international migrants of Rotterdam is not suited to the event history analysis as it is strongly over-sampled towards migrants who would eventually marry. This is the main reason why Rotterdam has not been included in the event history analyses.

In this chapter we investigate the impact of economic and cultural capital of internal migrants on their chances of social inclusion in three different cities. We focus on the marriage market, but our results are also related to the housing and labour market, as couples-to-be were expected to establish an independent household, which required substantial financial means.

4.3 Theories on delayed marriage and family formation among migrants

Many historical studies have shown that the timing and incidence of marriage and family formation varied between natives and migrants on the one hand, and between different groups of migrants on the other. Most studies have focused on the fact that migrants married later and less than natives, and that reproduction among migrants was delayed and less frequent (Kok 2006a; Lynch 1991; Oris 2000; Van Poppel 1992).

Why nuptiality and fertility behaviour among migrants differed from the native population is not self-evident. Neither is it clear what caused differences in nuptiality and family formation among different groups of migrants. According to several scholars, late marriage and late procreation among urban in-migrants might be caused by the fact that some groups of migrants arrived at relatively advanced ages in the city, when many natives and other in-migrants were already married (Van Poppel 1992; Lynch 1991). Furthermore, it has been suggested that natives and migrants looked for their partners in different, closed marriage markets. Distorted age and sex composition of the migrant marriage market could have seriously delayed marriage among newcomers (Lynch 1991; Kok 2006a; Van Poppel 1992; Oris 2000). Other scholars have argued that the lower nuptiality among migrants is caused by a class effect. Since pre-twentieth-century migrants belonged more often to lower social classes, their numeric importance may have decreased migrants' nuptiality rates, since the lowest classes often tended to marry at higher ages (Lynch 1991: 85).

However, most theories and hypotheses on delayed marriage and family formation point to the necessity of adaptation. Migrants had first to settle at the place of destination before they were able to find a suitable marriage partner and start a family. Indeed, it can be argued that becoming financially independent and finding living accommodation - two basic economic requirements for marriage and family formation - was an even greater challenge for migrants than for natives. Finding a suitable marriage partner might also have caused more difficulties.
In nineteenth- and early twentieth-century cities, finding stable employment and living accommodation were not self-evident events among migrants. That is already illustrated by the

fact that during this period in history, Western European and North American cities were confronted with high rates of transiency and this applied also to Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm (Thernstrom 1973; Darroch 1981). Migrants often only found work on a temporary basis and, in the light of the growing housing shortages in Western and Central European cities, finding affordable living accommodation became increasingly difficult in the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Lis 1986). Who was able to stay and settle down, depended upon, amongst other things, the actual situation in the local urban labour and housing market, the human capital migrants had at their disposal and the social network they could rely on. In cities where an economic boom occurred more migrants were able to find a good job and experience inclusion into the urban labour market (Lucassen, Feldman & Oltmer 2006). However, during such periods of economic and demographic growth, the pressure on the housing market grew as more people entered the city than new houses and apartments were constructed (Lis 1986).

In addition to finding stable employment and an appropriate dwelling, migrants who intended to marry had to find a suitable partner. In this respect, migrants seem to have been disadvantaged too. Indeed, delayed marriage and family formation among migrants might also have been a result of the fact that most of the newcomers were not popular marriage partners among the native population (De Vries 1984; Schrover 2002). Jan de Vries (1984) has shown, for example, for early nineteenth-century Amsterdam, that men and women who were born in that city highly preferred partners who also originated from the Dutch capital. Partners from elsewhere in the country were less desirable among the Amsterdam-born population. Even less popular were German males and females. However, a considerable number of Amsterdam-born brides (about 37% in the period 1801-1806) entered their first marriages with a migrant (De Vries 1984). This, however, was, to a large degree, to do with the shortage of Amsterdam-born males. Industrialization and modernization did not terminate geographic homogamy in the marriage market. However, the degree of homogamy differed among social groups. In the Flemish cities of Ghent, Leuven and Aalst, rural migrants and migrants from the lower social classes had less chance of marrying a native bride (Van de Putte 2003; 2005). We will return to this in more detail in the next chapter.

That migrants were unpopular marriage partners among natives also has to do with issues related to adaptation. In order to get into an intimate relation with a native person, a migrant had to be able to communicate in the language spoken at the place of residence. To learn a foreign language takes time. Another disadvantage in finding a marriage partner was that migrants often lacked a crucial social network in the city where they settled. The fact that

newcomers initially did not have a large number of friends and acquaintances at the place of settlement made it more difficult to meet potential partners (Van Poppel 1992). Furthermore, hostility against newcomers, often due to competition in the labour and housing market, decreased the chances of migrants courting natives. In addition, all kinds of cultural differences could form a barrier to mating. Urban dwellers had prejudices against country dwellers and vice versa. These prejudices were related to different lifestyles, dress, dialects and all kinds of different customs and habits and lowered the chances of finding a partner among rural-to-urban migrants. Finally, differences in religious devotion could form a serious obstacle to finding a marriage partner. In an age in which the church still controlled people's goings and doings, marrying somebody of another religion was, in principle, taboo (Van de Putte 2003; Ekamper, Van Poppel & Mandemakers 2011).

Apart from economic requirements and the need to find a potential partner, there were legal barriers that could hinder migrants from marrying and starting a family. Town councils in medium-sized cities in countries such as Germany, Switzerland and the Low Countries developed all kind of laws which functioned as direct restrictions on marriage for anybody un able to sustain a family independently or who had a bad reputation.[6] Such restrictions were particularly directed towards minors (in the form of a minimum age for marriage), disabled and chronically diseased subjects, poor people and, last but not least, migrants (Lynch 1991; Van den Eerenbeemt 1977). Such Malthusian restrictions were usually intended to avoid overpopulation and the spread of poverty, which would augment the pressure on public relief within the municipality and was likewise believed to increase the threat of revolution (Knodel 1967). In the mid-nineteenth century, direct restrictions on marriage and settlement by the local authorities continued to exist and were sometimes even temporarily reinforced. John Knodel describes the situation for Germany:

> The prospective groom, in order to gain permission from the local authorities, was required to produce evidence of having sufficient wealth or property, a secure income, or assured stable employment opportunities. A prospective wife from another community was often required to proof of adequate wealth, to pay a considerable fee for permission to settle in the community, or both. The bride

[6] Another type of restriction on marriage was directed towards partners who shared blood ties. Incest was one of the sins, which had to be avoided in order to avoid disgrace within the community.

> and groom frequently needed to provide evidence that their characters and morals were beyond reproach. Those who had a record of police conviction for fraud or theft or who had reputations as vagrants, loafers, drunkards, or even as bad housekeepers, were often denied permission. In some communities negligence in church or Sunday school attendance was a bar to marriage (Knodel 1967, 279-280).

For migrants, it was more difficult to deal with the legal requirements of marriage at the time, as the application for and delivery of legal documents, like a birth certificate or a death certificate of a parent, had to take place at their place of origin (Schumacher, Ryczkowska & Perroux 2007). This meant travelling to or having documents sent from the home municipality. At best, a delay in the legal procedure was the outcome. In practice, as Schumacher, Ryczkowska & Perroux (2007) have pointed out, such practical legal barriers opened ways to consensual unions and unwed motherhood.

However, towards the end of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, restrictions on marriage and residence were repealed legally and, accordingly, nuptiality started to increase (Knodel 1967). We expect that this increased the chances of migrants to settle down, marry and start a family.

4.4 Staying single as an alternative to marriage?

Certain authors have argued that some categories of migrants drove nuptiality down as they had no intention of marrying in the city; that is to say, that they entered the urban environment with other targets in mind. With respect to this hypothesis, we can think of servants and apprentices, who moved into the city with the intention of saving money, acquiring skills and returning to their place of origin or moving on to another place (Lynch 1991). A category of migrants for which this argument holds even more is the clergy. Cities were indeed home to large religious centres, like monasteries, nunneries and beguinages, which successfully attracted new members from inside and outside the city they were located (De Moor 2014).

The argument that large numbers of migrants purposefully postponed or abandoned marriage might apply for pre-modern times, but not for the latter half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, when marriage and family formation became increasingly ‘holy’ ideals among Western Europeans. The fact that the number of beguines declined strongly in the course of the nineteenth century is telling in itself. From about 1850, the European marriage

pattern gradually crumbled: Marriage ages dropped and proportions of life-time singles grew smaller among all social classes. There was a kind of 'mimetic appetite for marriage', which was linked to the fact that women were being driven from the labour market (Matthijs 2002). Domesticity, heralded by the middle classes, became a new ideal among the labouring classes. As a result, females started to dedicate themselves full-time to the role of housewife and mother, and this applied even to the most liberated women of the time (Badinter 1980; Matthijs 2002). While staying single had been for centuries a normal and viable life course trajectory, it became increasingly exceptional, to the point that singles became marginalized (Perrot 1987). At the same time, out of wedlock fertility decreased in most Western societies to very low levels. Stockholm is an exception in this respect, where non-marital cohabitation – the so-called 'Stockholm marriage' and non-marital fertility were high and stayed high (Matovic 1986).

Marriage became more attractive as a result of the transition from instrumental to romantic partner choice, which went hand in hand with a decrease in the age-difference between spouses (Coontz 2006; Van de Putte et al. 2009). The church, which had had an ambivalent relationship with marriage and sexuality, at least from the Middle Ages on,[7] started to perceive marriage and family formation increasingly as a way to strengthen its own power and to fight imprudent behaviour among its members, including cohabitation, the birth of children out of wedlock, divorce and the use of birth control. In the age of pillarization, high fertility among Catholics would lead to more voters for Catholic political parties, and would strengthen its position vis-à-vis socialist and protestant parties (Van Poppel & Derosas 2006). The Catholic Church was, in certain regions, at least temporarily, very successful. In the Catholic Southeastern part of the Netherlands fertility decline was, for example, much later than in protestant areas, and initially even an increase in fertility was observed in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Engelen 1997; 2009). The state made sure that religious rules were respected, by punishing imprudent behaviour and offering less rights to children who were born out of wedlock (e.g. preclusion from inheritance and succession). From the nineteenth century on, the state also offered an administrative system that could be used to track moral sinners, as cohabitation, clandestine marriages, births out of wedlock and divorce were registered in censuses, population registers and vital statistics. Moreover, as a result of the rise of nationalism

[7] On the one hand, the church viewed singles, who abstained from marriage and sexuality, as morally superior. It is for this reason that the clergy had to abstain from marriage and sexual activities. On the other hand, marriage was a sacrament, and the love between husband and wife symbolized the bond between the human soul and God. See De Jong 2002.

and totalitarianism, the state increasingly started to foster marriage and family formation for its own purposes, as fertility strengthened the power of the nation in terms of taxpayers and soldiers. The latter gave rise to new dimensions of marginalization among long-term singles (Heineman 1999).

Next, industrialization is believed to have made it easier to fulfil the economic requirements of marriage, as industrial labour offered early on in the life course permanent employment opportunities, through which youngsters no longer had to wait for a niche in the urban labour market. From a purely demographic point of view, it became unnecessary to postpone marriage, as fertility was increasingly being controlled by birth control practices (Engelen 1987; Matthijs 2001).

Apart from the fact that marriage was highly valued during the period of study, it is very unlikely that migrants stayed purposefully unmarried. After all, the modern welfare state as we know it today did not yet exist, and individuals who ran into trouble were dependent on assistance from family and friends, as town councils often refused financial support to non-natives (Innes, King & Winter 2013). Consequently, single life was coupled with insecurity, and this was especially true for migrants, who had left their home town behind with their family and friends and had moved to an alien environment where they might lack a social network and, consequently, could not rely on others in times of misfortune. Given this historical context, in which marriage and family formation was highly valued and unmarried migrants lived in insecurity, we deem it highly unlikely that large numbers of migrants purposefully remained single.

4.5 Marrying or staying single among internal migrants in all three cities

4.5.1 Data and methodology

We retrieved three sub-samples of internal migrants from the Antwerp COR*-database, the Historical Sample of the Netherlands and the Stockholm Historical Database. We selected only internal migrants who were single upon arrival in the city. By ‘migrants’ we mean those people not born in Antwerp, Rotterdam or Stockholm or its suburbs, but who moved to one of these cities at any moment during their life course. The term ‘internal migrants’ refers to those migrants who moved within the country borders of Belgium, the Netherlands and Sweden. In the case of Antwerp and Rotterdam, we selected all internal migrants from the databases who were still unmarried upon arrival. For Stockholm, we took a random sample of every fifth

internal migrant who moved between 1878 and 1915 to the Swedish capital. From this group we subsequently selected only those migrants who were single upon arrival.

For all internal migrants the following information was collected: identification number, sex, birth date, birth place, occupation (first registered occupation upon arrival), age at arrival and place of settlement (ward in the case of Stockholm; municipality in the case of Antwerp; for Rotterdam neighbourhood information was lacking in a majority of cases). Subsequently, it was investigated who married in the place of settlement.

With the help of the above described data, we constructed variables, which helped us to gain insight into the likelihood of experiencing social inclusion (versus staying excluded) in the marriage market. In this first analysis, the likelihood of getting married (versus staying single) was modelled by means of binomial logistic regression. We investigated which assets of the migrants decreased their likelihood of facing marginalization and social exclusion, focussing on the economic capital (social status), cultural capital (language, distance, rural/urban birth place) and socio-demographic features of the migrants (sex, place of settlement and age at arrival).

4.5.2 Variables

Marrying versus staying single (dependent variable)

This dichotomous variable distinguishes between migrants who married and migrants who stayed single during their stay in the receiving city. Staying single is the reference category.

Social class

This variable is based on the first registered occupation of the migrant upon arrival in the city as per the population register. Occupations are coded in HISCO (Van Leeuwen, Maas & Miles 2002) and subsequently recoded into SOCPO, a meaningful social class scheme based on the concept of *social power* (Van de Putte & Miles 2005). The original five classes were recoded into three categories: (1) unskilled labourers; (2) semi-skilled and skilled labourers; and (3) middle class and elite. We expected that the higher social classes would have better chances of getting married compared to the lower social classes, as their economic capital would function as a trump card in the marriage market (Kalmijn 1994). A comparable, but less strong effect could be expected for the semi-skilled and skilled labourers compared to the unskilled labourers.

Language

This variable was only created for Antwerp, because all internal migrants in Rotterdam and Stockholm are expected to have shared their native language with the local population. For Antwerp, we distinguished between migrants who were born in the French-speaking Walloon area (0) and the Dutch-speaking Flanders (1). We expect that French-speakers had lower odds of getting married, as Dutch was a language barrier to them in the Dutch speaking port (Van de Putte 2003).

Distance

This metrical variable measures the bird-flight distance between the birth place and the city of settlement. In order to calculate the distance, we made use of the Euclidean measure to calculate distance between x and y coordinates:

$$d(p,q) = \sqrt{(p1 - q1)^2 + (p2 - q2)^2}$$

We expect that migrants who moved over larger distances had smaller odds of getting married, as they differed culturally more from the native dwellers than short distance migrants.

Rural versus urban

This variable distinguishes between migrants who were born in a city (1) and migrants who were born in the countryside (0). We expect that rural migrants were less likely to marry, as they were not used to city life and were more likely to experience prejudice. (Van de Putte 2003).

Age at arrival

This variable has three categories: Migrants who arrived before their 17th birthday (1), between the ages of 17 and 30 (2), and migrants who arrived after their 30th birthday (3). The first group is the reference category. We expect that the group who arrived during childhood had higher odds of getting married as they were partially socialized in the city of settlement (Gordon 1964; Hwang et al. 1999).

Sex

This variable distinguishes between males (1) and females (2). We expect female migrants to have had a lower likelihood of getting married in Rotterdam and Stockholm, because there was

an excess of females in these cities. We expect that this improved the chances of males getting married.

Place of settlement

This variable indicates where migrants settled first within the city. For Antwerp, a distinction was made between Antwerp city and the suburban municipalities of Hoboken, Wilrijk, Berchem, Borgerhout and Deurne. The variable was reduced to two categories: Antwerp city (1) versus sub-urban municipalities (0). We expect that the likelihood of migrants getting married was higher in the suburbs, because of the large presence of internal migrants in those areas (Puschmann et al. 2012). For Stockholm, a distinction was made between labour class neighbourhoods (Södermalm & Kungsholmen), mixed and middle-class areas (Old city, Klara and Brännkyrka) and residential neighbourhoods (Östermalm). The first group is the reference category. We expect that the opportunities to marry were better in the labour class neighbourhoods. Migrants who lived in more residential neighbourhoods, most likely not only had to cross cultural borders, but also social class borders, which reduced the likelihood of getting married. For Rotterdam, we did not have neighbourhood information for the majority of the migrants. We therefore decided not to include this variable for the Dutch port city.

Birth cohort

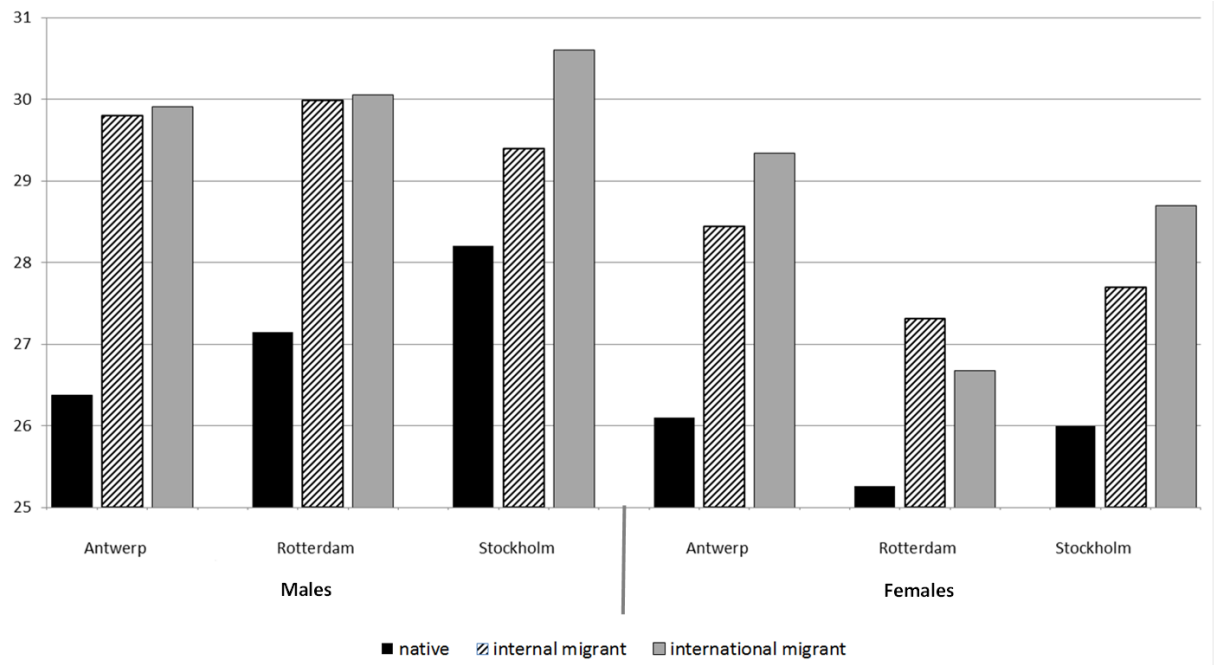
This variable has three categories: born between 1801-1867 (1), between 1868-1881 (2), and born between 1882 and 1924 (3). The youngest cohort is the reference category. We expected that the later born migrants had a higher likelihood of getting married. After all, the Western European marriage pattern was gradually disappearing during the period of study, as declining average ages at first marriage and decreasing proportions of life-time singles suggest. (Hajnal 1965). We expected that especially in Stockholm the marriage chances of the last cohort were much higher, as the decline in out-migration during that period suggests that the odds for social inclusion were increasing.

4.5.2 Descriptive results

Graph 4.1 shows that in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm male and female migrants had higher mean ages at marriage compared to native-born men and women. International migrants married, on average, even later than the internal migrants, with the exception of females in

Rotterdam. This is a first indication that adaptation posed challenges for migrants and that outsiders did not turn easily into insiders.

Graph 4.1 Mean ages at marriage among natives, internal migrants and international migrants in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm, 1850-1930

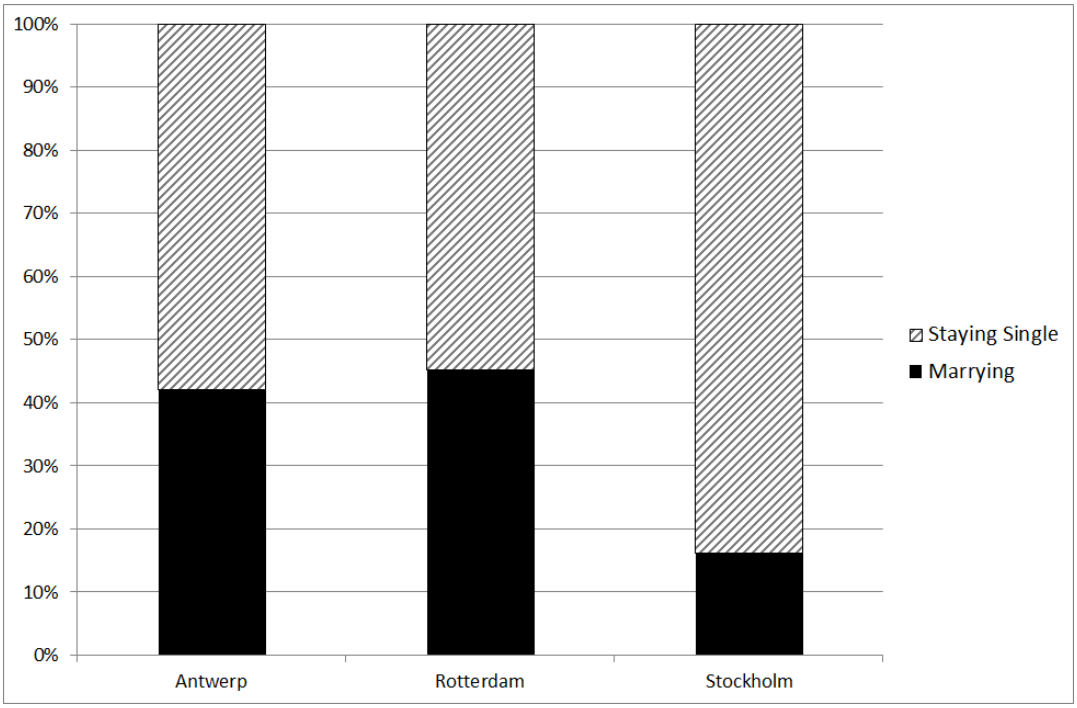


Source: Antwerp: COR* database; Rotterdam: Historical Sample of the Netherlands; Stockholm: Stockholm Historical Database.

From graph 4.2 we can conclude that a large share of the migrants were marginalized in the marriage market and faced social exclusion. After all, a majority of the migrants stayed unmarried during their stay in the city. This conclusion deserves, though, further qualification, as not all of these migrants intended to marry, which is also suggested by the low average age upon which migrants left the city again. In Antwerp, for example, 60.8% of the migrants who left the city were younger than 25. Unfortunately, it was only possible to investigate whether these persons married somewhere else later in their life with respect to Rotterdam, as only in the HSN database migrants are followed throughout the country. It turns out that 276 out of 769 internal migrants who left Rotterdam as single, married somewhere else in the Netherlands later in the life course. This means that of the group of internal migrants 35.2% stayed single for the rest of their life. This was much higher than for the Rotterdam and the Dutch population as a whole. According to the census of 1909, only 11.58% of the Rotterdam population in the age category 45-49 was unmarried. For the Dutch population as a whole this was 14.35%. This

group of migrants thus encountered considerable difficulties in gaining access to the marriage market, and the problems did not disappear by leaving the city.

Graph 4.2 Proportion of the migrants that married during their stay versus the proportion that stayed single



Source: Antwerp: COR* database; Rotterdam: Historical Sample of the Netherlands; Stockholm: Stockholm Historical Database.

Moreover, we performed some sensitivity analyses for Antwerp, in order to make sure that low proportions of marriage among migrants were not caused by certain groups of young migrants who were only temporarily in the city and who intended to settle and marry (e.g. as they deemed themselves too young) somewhere else, for example, in their home town. This would typically apply to apprentices and domestic servants. However, it turned out that the risk of marriage of these groups did not differ from other groups of migrants. We can assume, then, that the odds of marrying in the receiving society were equal among stayers and leavers, and that the high percentage of migrants who stayed single cannot be explained in terms of temporary migration to the city.[8]

[8] Elsewhere, we conducted a more profound sensitivity analysis, where we also evaluated the likelihood of getting married among migrants who arrived as singles with the help of a Cox model. For that event history analysis we first left out all migrants who stayed less than a year in town. This did not have an impact on the results. Next, we excluded all migrants who were less than five years in the city. Again, this did not lead to any significant differences in the results. For more information see Puschmann et al. (forthcoming 2016).

The fact that the risk of staying single was largest in Stockholm suggests that marginalization in the Swedish capital was more common than in Antwerp and Rotterdam. Immediately, the distinction between two big port cities versus one industrial city with a minor port becomes clear. This result therefore confirms Anne Winter's (2009) hypothesis that social inclusion in port cities was easier compared to industrial cities, as port labour especially fits the profile of unskilled labourers from the countryside. However, at the same time, we have to take into account that cohabitation was more common in the Swedish capital, especially among the lower social classes (Matovic 1986). In practice, this means that a part of the group of unmarried migrants in fact had a relationship with a partner. For that specific group marginalization was not as drastic as it was for people without a relationship.

Table 4.1 displays the distribution of migrants by marital status (whether they got married or not) within the different independent variables. The first conclusion is that most of the internal migrants were semi-skilled or skilled labourers (ranging from 54.6% in Rotterdam to 88.2% in Stockholm). Striking is the large proportion of unmarried migrants from the higher social classes in Rotterdam (55.8%). Next, 87% of the migrants in Antwerp had Dutch as their native tongue. A majority of the migrants were born in the countryside, ranging from 61.4% in Rotterdam to 97.8% in Stockholm. In Rotterdam, country dwellers who got married were overrepresented: 71.4% of the migrants who married were born in the countryside. Most migrants moved before their 30th birthday (ranging from 81% in Antwerp to 94.4% in Rotterdam). In Antwerp and Stockholm, the majority of the migrants arrived between their 17th and 30th birthday, while in Rotterdam most migrants settled during childhood. In Rotterdam, this group of migrants who arrived at a young age was also overrepresented in the category who got married during their stay. In Antwerp and Stockholm, this was the case for migrants who arrived between the ages of 17 and 30. In Stockholm, the average distance to the birth place was about four times as large as in Antwerp and Rotterdam. With respect to the socio-demographic assets of the migrants, we find a relatively balanced sex distribution in Antwerp and Rotterdam, and an overrepresentation of (mostly married) females in Stockholm. Most of

Table 4.1: Descriptive statistics on individual features of internal migrants, according to whether they married or stayed single during their stay in the city.

	Antwerp						Rotterdam						Stockholm					
	Single		Married		Total		Single		Married		Total		Single		Married		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Economic capital																		
Social class																		
Unskilled	67	17.1	64	23,7	131	19.8	46	7.7	88	27.7	134	14.7	3919	12.2	1026	16.9	4945	13
(semi-) skilled	226	57.7	156	57.8	382	57.7	201	33.8	154	48.4	355	38.9	24399	76.2	4266	70.2	28665	75.2
Middle class and elite	99	25.3	50	18.5	149	22.5	348	58.5	76	23.9	424	46.4	3707	11.6	784	12.9	4491	11.8
Cultural capital																		
Language																		
Other language	91	16.4	30	7.4	121	12.6												
Dutch	465	83.6	373	92.6	838	87.4												
Rural-urban birth place																		
Countryside	341	61.6	279	69.2	620	64.8	409	53.2	451	71.4	860	61.4	333174	83.9	6395	84.2	339569	97.8
City	213	38.4	124	30.8	337	35.2	360	46.8	181	28.6	541	38.6	6384	16.1	1203	15.8	7587	2.2
Age at in-migration																		
< 17	118	22.3	95	24.5	213	23.3	373	48.8	195	60.7	568	52.3	3507	8.9	875	11.5	4382	9.3
17-30	298	56.3	231	59.7	529	57.8	342	44.7	107	33.3	449	41.3	31440	79.4	6194	81.4	37634	79.7
> 30	113	21.4	61	15.8	174	19	50	6.8	19	5.9	69	6.4	4641	11.7	538	7.1	5179	11
	$\bar{x}$	**S.A.**	$\bar{x}$	**S.A.**	$\bar{x}$	**S.A.**	$\bar{x}$	**S.A.**	$\bar{x}$	**S.A.**	$\bar{x}$	**S.A.**	$\bar{x}$	**S.A.**	$\bar{x}$	**S.A.**	$\bar{x}$	**S.A.**
Distance (km)	64.1	45.8	58.2	49.4	61.15	47.6	55.7	53.4	41.5	50.3	48.6	51.9	220.9	144.6	202.3	142.2	211.6	143.4
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Socio-demographic features																		
Sex																		
Female	276	49.8	216	53.6	492	51.4	398	51.8	318	50.3	716	51.1	22166	56.0	3454	45.4	25620	54.3
Male	278	50.2	187	46.4	465	48.6	371	48.2	314	49.7	685	48.9	17422	44.0	4153	54.6	21575	45.7
Age at marriage																		
< 25			187	46.4	187	46.5			234	37.0	234	37.0			1952	25.7	1952	25.7
25-30			127	31.8	127	31.6			208	32.9	208	32.9			3599	47.3	3599	47.3
> 30			88	21.8	88	21.9			190	30.1	190	30.1			2055	27.0	2055	27.0
Birth cohort																		
1801-1867	320	57.6	154	38.3	474	49.5	96	12.5	165	36.1	261	18.6	14987	37.9	2936	38.6	17923	38
1868-1881	189	34.0	108	26.9	297	31.0	139	18.1	110	17.4	249	17.8	15234	38.5	2502	32.9	17736	37.6
1882-1924	47	8.4	140	34.8	187	19.5	534	69.4	357	56.5	891	63.6	9367	23.7	2169	28.5	11536	24.4
Place of settlement (Antwerp)																		
Suburb	482	86.7	345	85.8	827	86.3												
Antwerp city	74	13.3	57	14.2	131	13.7												
Place of settlement																		
Poorest neighbourhoods													17872	45.1	4465	58.7	22337	47.3
Mixed neighbourhoods													8501	21.5	1405	18.5	9906	21
Residential neighbourhoods													13215	33.4	1737	22.8	14952	31.7

the migrants in Antwerp (50%) were born during the earliest cohort (1801-1867). For Stockholm, there was a fairly equal distribution with regard to cohort (1882-1924). In Stockholm, the largest group of migrants moved into a labourer neighbourhood (47%). This group is also overrepresented among those who entered matrimony.

In the next step, we will evaluate, with the help of a binomial logistic regression, whether the above described different outcomes in marriage behaviour are related to the economic and cultural capital and the socio-demographic features of the migrants.

4.5.3 Results multivariate analyses marriage opportunities

Table 4.2 displays the results of the binomial logistic regression with the dependent variable *marrying versus staying single.* In all three cities, the semi-skilled and skilled labourers had less opportunities to marry compared to the unskilled labourers. In Rotterdam, the middle class and elite had much lower odds of getting married compared to the unskilled labourers. In Antwerp and Stockholm, the results for the middle class and elite were not significant. These results on social status run largely against our expectations. We anticipated that marriage chances would be higher for migrants with more economic capital, but the results tell a different story: Migrants from the lowest social classes, with the least economic capital, had the best chances of getting married.

In Antwerp, Dutch-speaking migrants had much higher odds of marrying compared to French-speaking migrants. This is completely in line with our expectations. Distance to birth place had a slightly negative effect on migrants' odds of getting married, but was not significant for Antwerp. Again, this points to the importance of cultural differences. Migrants who moved over longer distances differed more from the native population in terms of dialect, dress, habits, etc. compared to those who moved over shorter distances.

In Antwerp and Rotterdam, urban migrants were less likely to marry than rural migrants, while in Stockholm no significant difference between both categories was found. This finding goes against our expectation, as we thought that rural dwellers would have had more difficulties in adapting to the urban environment.

Next, we found that migrants who moved to Rotterdam and Stockholm after the age of 17, had lower odds of marrying compared to those migrants who already moved during childhood. For those who moved after the age of 30 the association was the strongest. This indicates that migrants who (partially) grew up in the city of settlement, and were socialized in

Table 4.2: Results binomial logistic regression marriage opportunities (marrying versus staying single)

	Antwerp		Rotterdam		Stockholm	
	Exp (B)	**C.I.**	**Exp (B)**	**C.I.**	**Exp (B)**	**C.I.**
Economic capital						
Social class						
Unskilled (ref.)						
(semi-) skilled	0.758+	[0.645-0.891]	0.460***	[0.391-0.540]	0.908***	[0.881-0.935]
Middle class & elite	0.766	[0.609-0.962]	0.104***	[0.088-0.123]	1.046	[0.998-1.096]
Cultural variables						
Language						
Other (ref.)						
Dutch	2.146**	[1.664-2.769]				
Distance (km)	0.999	[0.998-1.002]	0.997*	[0.996-0.998]	0.999***	[0.999-0.999]
Rural-urban differences						
Countryside (ref.)						
City	0.639**	[0.549-0.744]	0.562***	[0.490-0.645]	0.973	[0.939-1.008]
Age at in-migration						
< 17 (ref.)						
17-30	1.254	[1.049-1.499]	0.223***	[0.192-0.259]	0.827***	[0.792-0.863]
> 30	1.163	[0.924-1.464]	0.210***	[0.152-0.290]	0.485***	[0.455-0.516]
Socio-demographic features						
Sex						
female (ref.)						
Male	0.954	[0.822-1.106]	1.472**	[1.287-1.684]	1.391***	[1.354-1.429]
Birth cohort						
1801-1867 (ref.)						
1868-1881	1.189	[1.012-1.398]	0.492***	[0.396-0.612]	0.750***	[0.727-0.773]
1882-1924	6.127***	[4.994-7.517]	0.331***	[0.278-0.395]	1.017	[0.984-1.051]
Place of settlement (Antwerp)						
Suburbs (ref.)						
Antwerp city	0.98	[0.796-1.207]				
Place of settlement (Stockholm)						
Poorest neighbourhoods (ref.)						
Mixed neighbourhoods					0.595***	[0.570-0.621]
Residential neighbourhoods					0.580***	[0.563-0.598]
Nagelkerke R^2	17.1		20.9		4	
Log likelihood null model	1284.8		1664		41559.9	
Log likelihood full model	1162.8		1444		40519.3	

+ < 0.1; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001.

the receiving society, had a higher likelihood of experiencing inclusion in the marriage market. They were better adapted to the society they lived in and possessed specific local human capital which increased their chances in the labour and marriage market. Finally, for the native population it was easier to perceive them as insiders. For Antwerp, however, no significant differences regarding the age at arrival were found.

In Stockholm and Rotterdam, males had a higher likelihood of getting married than females, while in Antwerp no significant differences for sex came to the light. In the first instance, we can explain these results by referring to the fact that Rotterdam's and Stockholm's total population had a female surplus and that both cities attracted more females than males.

We also found significant differences between the birth cohorts. In Antwerp, migrants who were born between 1882 and 1924 had much better chances of marrying compared to those born between 1801 and 1867. By contrast, in Rotterdam, the chances of getting married decreased for the cohorts 1868-1881 and 1882-1924 compared to the cohort 1801- 1867. In Stockholm, the odds of getting married were smaller for the cohort 1868-1881. In Antwerp, the opportunities to get married grew enormously over time, while in Rotterdam and Stockholm they were decreasing.

No significant differences were found between migrants who settled in Antwerp and migrants who settled in Antwerp's suburbs upon arrival in the Belgian port city. However, migrants who settled in Stockholm's middle class and residential neighbourhoods had significantly fewer marriage opportunities compared to those who moved into labour class neighbourhoods. This points again to the idea that entering into the higher social strata of the receiving society was most difficult. This was a privilege for natives and a very selective number of newcomers.

4.6 Timing and incidence of marriage and the birth of the first child among internal and international migrants in Antwerp and Stockholm

In the next step, we model the timing and likelihood of marriage and the transition to parenthood, as we assume that this is a good indicator of the efforts it took to become socially included in the local marriage market of the city to which migrants moved. The more time it took after arrival to marry and start a family, the greater the constraints and challenges for migrants might have been to becoming socially included in the city they moved to. It certainly seems plausible that the time between arrival and marriage and family formation reflects, to a large degree, the time it takes for newcomers to find, amongst other things, a good job, an affordable dwelling and a suitable marriage partner. However, the fact that migrants arrived at different ages forms a complicating factor in the analysis. Migrants who arrive in the city early on in life are more likely to have a longer time span between arrival and marriage than migrants who arrive at more advanced ages. This is because of legal restrictions on early marriage and unwritten rules about what the appropriate age for marriage and the start of reproduction is. We therefore have to control for age at arrival.

4.6.1 Data and methodology

For the event history analysis on marriage and the transition to parenthood we created two person-period files for Antwerp and Stockholm, which include both internal and international migrants. For the purpose of these two analyses, we first identified all domestic and international migrants solely on the basis of their place of birth, since other information, such as nationality, is usually not given in the registers. We selected all individuals who were neither born in the city of Antwerp, nor in one of the suburbs Berchem, Borgerhout, Deurne, Hoboken, Merksem or Wilrijk, but who lived in this larger urban Antwerp area at a certain stage in their life course. Consequently, we found about 10,000 migrants, about 4,000 of whom were unmarried upon their first entry in the registers.

While the registration of births, marriages and deaths is assumed to be correctly reported, dates of arrival and departure are often missing. Although both in-migration and out-migration were events for which registration was compulsory, they were often not reported to the local government offices. In order to include individuals without known date of arrival and to estimate the true exposure time of migrants whose date of departure is missing, we imputed dates of in- and out-migration on the basis of individuals' presence history in the population registers. Registers were opened in 1846, 1856, 1866, 1876, 1880, 1890, 1900 and in 1910. When a register was opened, all individuals present at that time were recorded and incoming migrants successively added during the covered period. Consequently, an individual whose first presence is found in the 1866 register must have arrived between 1866 and 1876, whereas a migrant whose last presence is recorded in the 1890 register must have left between 1890 and 1900. For an individual i whose date of arrival is missing, we defined the imputed year of in-migration I as a random number within a range of possible years defined as the difference of the minimum between the opening year of the following register R_{t+1}, a potentially recorded year of departure O and a potentially given year of death D, on the one hand, and the maximum between the opening year of the register of first presence R_t and individual i's birth year B on the other hand:

$$I_i = R_{t,i} + \text{random}(\text{range}_i), \qquad \text{with range}_i = \min (R_{t+1,i}, O_i, D_i) - \max (R_{t,i}, B_i)$$

Records of our events of interest, i.e. marriages and first births, have not been used to define the ranges of possible years of in-migration, as this may have induced selection biases in our imputations. Similarly, we defined the imputed year of out-migration O as a random number

within a range of possible years defined as the difference of the opening year of the following register R_{t+1} and the maximum between the opening year of the register of last presence R_t and the individual's year of arrival I:

$$O_i = R_{t,i} + \text{random}(\text{range}_i), \quad \text{with range}_i = R_{t+1,i} - \max(R_{t,i}, I_i)$$

For individuals who died during the period covered by the register in which their last record could be found, no year of departure has been imputed. Again, reported dates of marriage and first birth have not been used to determine the range of possible years of out-migration, as this would have meant to define the exposure time with information on the dependent variables. For the sake of simplicity, only continuous presence histories have been taken into account, i.e. only one year of out-migration has been imputed per individual, even if part of the population left came back to Antwerp in later years.

From the Stockholm historical database, we selected the unmarried population out of a random sample. In this way, we end up with about 6,500 international and 63,500 domestic migrants. The Roteman – a municipal registrar who was in charge of the Roteman registration system – continuously updated the information on the recorded individuals. Events, in particular in-migration, marriage, birth of first child, out-migration and death, should therefore be reliably reported. Nevertheless, in a small number of cases the migration history before arrival is unknown, and in some cases, no date of in-migration has been reported.

In both contexts, our analyses of times to marriage and first observed birth since immigration are restricted to the unmarried population aged 18 to 50. Individuals who immigrated as children enter the risk set only when reaching age 18. The total exposure time is therefore 32 years. After applying our selection criteria regarding civil status and age, we remain with about 2000 migrants in greater Antwerp, among whom the year of arrival has been imputed in 25% of all cases and the year of departure in about 70% of all cases. Our Stockholm sample consists of about 52,000 domestic and international migrants.

In order to study the occurrence and the timing of marriage and first birth among these migrants we conducted a discrete-time survival analysis. In a first step, we analyzed survival times until marriage and first observed birth using the life table estimator and plotted survival curves. In a second step, we ran discrete-time logit models predicting the risk rates of getting married and of having a first child as a function of time since immigration, age at immigration, historical time period, gender, region of birth, place of birth (urban or rural) social class and civil status (the latter for the models of first birth only). Time since immigration, historical time

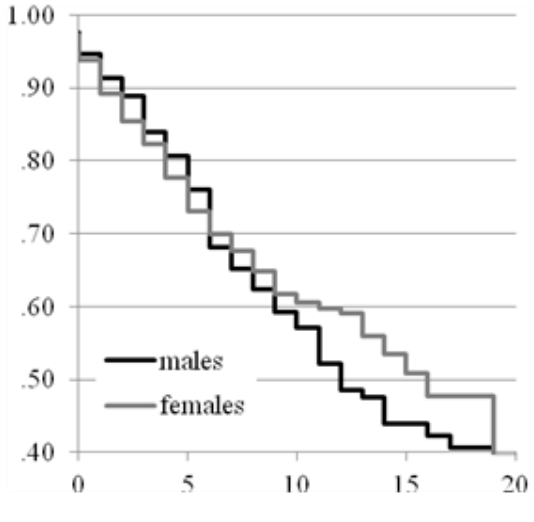
period, and civil status (unmarried vs. married) have been included as time varying variables. Our measure of social class is based on HISCLASS (Van Leeuwen & Maas 2010): upper classes comprise HISCLASS codes 1 to 3, middle classes codes 4 to 7 and lower classes codes 8 to 12. To control for unobserved heterogeneity, we specified normally distributed random intercepts in all models.

4.6.2 Results discrete time event history analyses

Graph 4.3 shows the survival times until marriage and first observed birth among unmarried migrants in Antwerp between 1846 and 1922. The overall risk of getting married increases during the first seven years after arrival and declines thereafter. The means that the hazard function is inversely U-shaped. Men and women do not differ substantially from each other in their probability of getting married. Among both sexes, about 25% marry within the first five years after arrival, and after ten years of residence in Antwerp, about 40% have found a spouse.

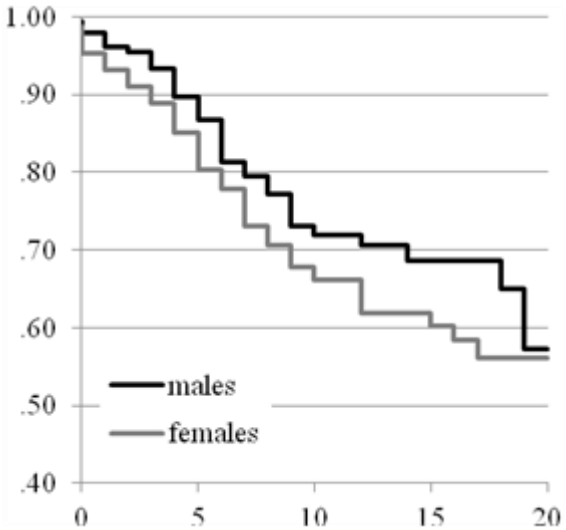
Graph 4.3 Time to marriage and first observed birth in Antwerp among unmarried migrants. Life-table survival curves

Time to marriage



adult years since immigration

Time to first birth



adult years since immigration

The time dependency of the risk of having a first birth is also best summarized as an inversely U-shaped curve. The rate of observing a birth increases during the first 8 to 9 years after arrival and decreases afterwards, although an upheaval of the rate can be observed after 15 years. At any time, the proportion of immigrants who access to fertility is lower than the proportion

Table 4.3. Discrete-time survival models of marriage and first observed birth among unmarried migrants in Antwerp (1846-1920).

	time to marriage		time to first birth	
	OR	*p*-value	OR	*p*-value
Years since immigration	1.156	0.000	1.324	0.004
Years squared	0.992	0.000	0.985	0.001
Age at immigration				
< 18	1	Ref	1	ref
19-24	1.172	0.255	0.884	0.628
25-34	0.905	0.525	0.429	0.005
35+	0.619	0.026	0.067	0.000
Historical period				
1846-1869	0.258	0.000	0.260	0.000
1870-1889	1	Ref	1	Ref
1890-1905	2.161	0.000	0.745	0.228
1906-1922	3.593	0.000	0.334	0.000
Gender				
Male	1	Ref	1	Ref
Female	0.946	0.627	1.307	0.254
Region of birth				
Province of Antwerp	1.110	0.410	1.568	0.083
Flanders	1	Ref	1	Ref
Brussel area	1.455	0.107	0.468	0.187
Wallonia	1.028	0.900	0.663	0.333
Outside Belgium	0.623	0.008	0.614	0.158
Unknown	0.484	0.063	0.194	0.171
Place of birth				
Urban	0.874	0.286	0.552	0.023
Rural	1		1	Ref
Unknown	0.759	0.576	0.816	0.871
Social class				
Upper	0.914	0.747	0.646	0.554
Middle	0.830	0.232	0.571	0.094
Lower	1	Ref	1	Ref
Unknown	1.132	0.357	2.386	0.003
Year of immigration not known	0.533	0.000	0.297	0.004
Year of outmigration not known	1.579	0.000	1.065	0.790
Married			21.23	0.000
Intercept	-4.218	0.000	-4.875	0.000
random intercept (stdev)	0.003	0.496	1.722	0.000
Observed person-years	10508		10062	
Observed individuals	2010		2038	
Observed events	374		213	

married. Within the first five years of residence in Antwerp, about 10% of the unmarried immigrant population has a first birth, while after ten years about 30% have had access to reproduction. No substantial difference between men and women can be observed, although among women survival times are slightly shorter.

Table 4.3 shows the results of two random-intercept discrete-time logit models of time to marriage and time to first birth among migrants in Antwerp. Except for the fixed and random parts of the intercepts, the coefficients have been exponentiated and should therefore be interpreted as hazard (odds) ratios. The number of years since arrival has been included in both linear and squared forms to model the inversely U-shaped function of the baseline hazard.

The model of time to marriage indicates substantial associations between access to marriage on the one hand and age at immigration, historical time period, region of birth and completeness of migration history on the other hand. In contrast, gender and social class do not seem to be related with time to marriage. Among migrants who arrived in Antwerp before the age of 35 years, no difference in access to marriage can be observed. However, individuals who immigrated after that age were clearly less likely to marry than younger migrants. The model also shows a steady increase over historical time in migrants' risk of getting married. After 1906, for example, migrants were more than three times as likely to marry in town as before 1890. This is a clear sign that the European marriage pattern of late marriages and large proportions of bachelors and spinsters was gradually disappearing. Migrants might have especially profited from this situation, as they previously had less chances of getting married. Equally, the increased risk of a first marriage over time might reflect growing societal openness.

It is not surprising to find that international migrants were only half as likely to find a spouse as Belgians, whereas the absence of any differences within the group of domestic immigrants is rather surprising. Furthermore, we believe that the negative impact of a lacking year of arrival in the population register on the risk of marriage, as well as the positive influence of a missing date of out-migration on the likelihood of getting married, are due to unobserved characteristics of these subpopulations rather than to our imputation method. Migrants who did not register upon arrival were probably less familiar with the ins and outs of the administrative system. Such a lack of knowledge also suggests less insight into the local marriage and labour market. However, not registering might also suggest that migrants did not intend to settle in Antwerp.

The model of time to first birth shows significant associations between the access to reproduction on the one hand and age at immigration, historical time period, region and place of birth, social class and marriage on the other hand. Again, no significant difference can be

found between men and women. The regression coefficients report a sharp decrease in the propensity of experiencing a first birth among migrants who arrived in Antwerp after the age of 25 years. Individuals who immigrated after the age of 35 years were even 15 times less likely to have a first birth in Antwerp than individuals who arrived before age 25. Contrary to marriage, the access to reproduction did not increase over time in Antwerp. The association between calendar time and the risk of having a first birth we found is not monotonic. Immigrants were most likely to have a first child between 1870 and 1905, whilst the risk was lower before and after that period. The association between region of birth and access to reproduction is due to three distinct groups in terms of fertility behaviour: short-distance migrants born in the province of Antwerp, Flemings and international immigrants. Individuals born in the province of Antwerp were most likely to have a child in town, followed by all other Flemings and by foreign nationals who were least likely to have a child in Antwerp. All things being equal, migrants born in urban places were at lower odds of experiencing first birth in Antwerp. Migrants of the middle and upper social classes were less likely to have children than labourers, although these differences did not turn out to be statistically significant. Migrants of unknown social class, however, were subject to a clearly increased risk of having a first birth in town. Finally, the association between marital status and access to reproduction is, as expected, very important. After marriage, the risk immediately jumps to a rate 20 times as high as before marriage. In this model, the random intercept is large and significant, which means that there is a source of inter-individual heterogeneity we do not observe.

Graph 4.4 shows the survival times until marriage and first birth among the unmarried immigrant population in Stockholm between 1878 and 1927. Due to the high numbers of observed individuals and events, the empirical hazard functions follow almost perfectly inversely U-shaped curves. The risk of getting married is highest in the fifth year after arrival and decreases thereafter, whilst the risk of having a first child in town reaches its maximum after about 10 years of residence. In Stockholm, men and women differ significantly between each other with respect to time to marriage, men getting married at a higher rate than women. Among the latter, about 30% marry within the first ten years after arrival and about 40% do so within the first 15 years, whereas among the former the proportions rise to 40% and 50% respectively. No significant gender differences, by contrast, can be observed with respect to time to first birth. The comparison with Antwerp shows that Stockholm migrants married at a lower rate and also had less frequently a first child in their new home town.

Graph 4.4. Time to marriage and first observed birth in Stockholm among unmarried migrants. Life-table survival curves

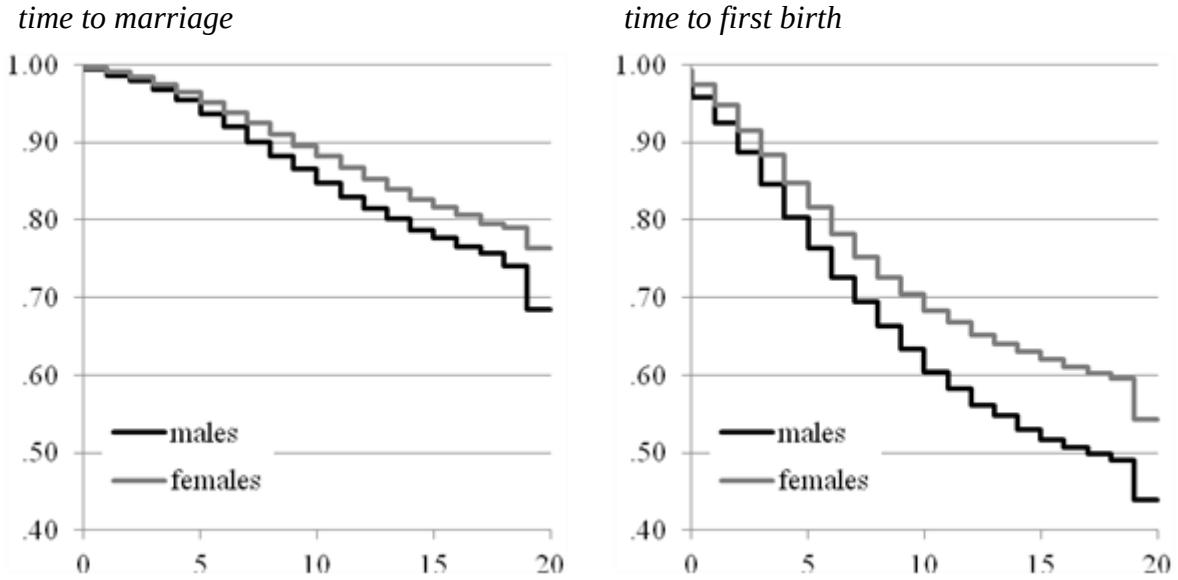


Table 4.4 shows the results of two discrete-time survival models of time to marriage and time to first observed birth among unmarried migrants in Stockholm. Both models contain a random intercept that turned out to be highly significant, which means that part of the between-individual heterogeneity cannot be explained by the independent variables we include in our models. Thanks to the specification of random intercepts, the estimation of the regression coefficients should be unbiased. As in the models for the Antwerp data, we included time since immigration in linear and squared form to model the inversely U-shaped baseline hazard.

The model predicting the risk of getting married gives evidence for substantial associations between access to and rhythm of marriage on the one hand and age at immigration, historical time period, gender, region and place of birth and social class on the other hand. Interestingly, the risk of getting married increases with age at immigration among migrants who arrived before the age of 35 years. Individuals who immigrated when 25 to 34 years old got married twice as fast as those who arrived before the age of 18 years. This result differs considerably from that found in the Antwerp data and may be due to differences in common age at marriage. The lower rate of marriage found in the female population may, in turn, be explained by the unbalanced sex ratio. In Stockholm, we cannot observe the steady increase in the hazard of getting married we found in the Antwerp model. On the contrary, the hazard declined by 20 % between the first and the second time period considered. Our results further show that short-distance migrants born in the Stockholm area married in higher proportions

Table 4.4 Discrete-time survival models of marriage and first observed birth among unmarried migrants in Stockholm (1878-1926)

	time to marriage		time to first birth	
	OR	*p*-value	OR	*p*-value
Years since immigration	1.479	0.000	1.110	0.000
Years squared	0.983	0.000	0.994	0.000
Age at immigration				
< 18	1	Ref	1	Ref
19-24	1.527	0.000	1.158	0.044
25-34	2.064	0.000	0.963	0.646
35 +	0.772	0.008	0.376	0.000
Historical period				
1878-1889	1.199	0.000	1.016	0.831
1890-1905	1		1	Ref
1906-1927	0.981	0.577	0.683	0.000
Gender				
Male	1	Ref	1	Ref
Female	0.698	0.000	0.924	0.146
Region of birth				
Stockholm county	1	Ref	1	Ref
East central Sweden	0.858	0.011	0.911	0.338
Southern Sweden	0.706	0.000	0.911	0.326
Gothenburg	0.631	0.001	0.793	0.384
Northwest central Sweden	0.687	0.000	0.966	0.735
Northern Sweden	0.567	0.000	0.775	0.080
Unknown domestic	1.010	0.962	1.213	0.575
Finland	0.699	0.000	7.083	0.000
Norway	0.969	0.829	9.459	0.000
Russia	2.600	0.000	20.994	0.000
Germany	0.960	0.708	7.065	0.000
Other international	0.699	0.014	4.118	0.000
Place of birth				
Urban	0.922	0.041	0.882	0.045
Rural	1	Ref	1	Ref
Unknown	0.452	0.000	0.475	0.000
Social class				
Upper	1.410	0.001	0.762	0.133
Middle	1.130	0.008	0.827	0.009
Lower	1	Ref	1	Ref
Unknown	0.959	0.332	0.977	0.732
Married			62.06	0.000
Intercept	-5.340	0.000	-7.431	0.000
Random intercept	1.589	0.000	1.340	0.000
Observed person-years	292408		335732	
Observed individuals	51897		51786	
Observed events	7820		2941	

than domestic and international immigrants, with the exception of Russians who clearly married faster and also in higher proportions than all other groups. Migrants whose place of birth could not be classified as urban or rural were at lower odds of concluding first marriage in Stockholm. Finally, the model also shows that upper and middle class immigrants married at a faster rate than lower class migrants.

The model of time to first birth indicates significant associations between access to reproduction on the one hand and age at immigration, historical time period, region and place of birth and civil status on the other hand. Gender does not seem to be related with time to first birth, and social class only to a limited extent. As expected, the risk of having a first child in town is much lower among migrants who arrived after the age of 35 years. As in Antwerp, the hazard also declines in Stockholm during the last time period (1906-1927), but to a much lower extent than in the Flemish city. The model gives evidence of an interesting opposition with respect to first birth between domestic migrants on the one hand and international migrants on the other hand. The former, who did not differ significantly between each other in terms of time to first birth, were clearly less likely to have a first birth in the city of Stockholm than the latter. Among international migrants, Russians were by far the most likely to have a first child in town and also were subject to clearly shorter waiting times. This opposition between domestic and international migrants in terms of reproduction may indicate differences in the motivation to migrate. As to the particular behaviour of Russian immigrants - they were most likely to marry - it may be related to specific community effects, like religion. After all, the Russian-born migrants were to a large extent Jewish. Again, migrants with a non-classifiable place of birth along the urban/rural scale were less likely to experience first birth in Stockholm. Finally, the model shows, as expected, a very marked association between marital status and reproduction. As in Antwerp, the risk of observing a first birth jumps to much higher rates after marriage.

4.6 Conclusion and discussion

In this chapter we have studied access to marriage and reproduction among internal and international migrants, making use of two different techniques. We used binomial logistic regression to study the likelihood of marrying versus staying single among internal migrants in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm. Next, we modelled the timing and incidence of first marriages and first births among both internal and international migrants in Antwerp and Stockholm. We have argued that the timing and incidence of these two lifetime events are good indicators of the time it takes to get socially included in urban societies of that time. Our main

goal has been to detect individual and contextual factors that could have facilitated or hampered migrants' social inclusion, focussing on economic and cultural capital of the migrants, as well as some core socio-demographic characteristics. By comparing three different cities, we also gained insight into the effects of the demographic and economic structures of the receiving society on the odds of experiencing social inclusion.

Our study is innovative in the sense that we apply a longitudinal instead of a cross-sectional approach to social inclusion. This is an advantage as social inclusion in itself is a process which may last for years. The process should therefore ideally be studied on the basis of longitudinal techniques, like event history analysis, which specifically focus on individual waiting times until an event of social inclusion takes place. Cross-sectional approaches do not take into account that the time at risk among migrants greatly differed as some migrants stayed only for a few weeks or months in the city, while others stayed for years. It is wrong to assume that both categories of migrants had the same risk of experiencing events of social inclusion. Our longitudinal databases allow us to include both movers and stayers. This is often impossible on the basis of cross-sectional approaches, as the largest part of the movers were not covered by the sources. They arrived after a census was taken and left before a new one was carried out. Their odds of ending up in the vital registration were equally considerably lower.

This study shows that social exclusion was taking place on a large scale in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm. A majority of the migrants did not get access to the marriage market. In Antwerp, 58% of the internal migrants who arrived as singles did not marry during their stay in the city; for Rotterdam this was 55% and for Stockholm 84%. This means that most internal migrants did not put down roots in the receiving society. Differently put: Most outsiders stayed outsiders. This cannot be explained in terms of large numbers of temporary migrants, as sensitivity analyses showed that the risk of marrying was equal among the highly mobile category of domestic servants and apprentices and the rest of the migrant population (cf. Puschmann et al. forthcoming). Moreover, later-life information on Rotterdam demonstrates that leavers did not simply get married somewhere else. If we take into account the marriages, which were contracted after the migrants had left Rotterdam, the percentage of migrants that stayed single for the rest of their lives was still far above the percentages of the total populations that stayed single in Rotterdam, and the percentage that stayed single in the Netherlands as a whole.

The degree to which migrants were able to escape from marginalization and social exclusion varied from city to city and from migrant group to migrant group. The fact that migrants had lower odds of marrying in Stockholm, compared to Antwerp and Rotterdam,

confirms Anne Winter's (2009) hypothesis that in port cities the likelihood of social inclusion was higher than in industrial cities, as port labour fitted better to the profile of low skilled rural migrants. Economic capital did not reduce the migrants' risk of facing marginalization in the marriage markets of Antwerp and Rotterdam. We think that this is an outcome of the limited demand for high skilled jobs in cities in which the port dominated the economy. In such a situation group boundaries might be stricter, as natives try to reserve the smaller number of privileged jobs and potential partners with a higher social status for themselves. The situation was different, though, for Stockholm. In the case of Stockholm, the middle and especially the upper class had higher odds of getting married. We could therefore conclude that the social inclusion of migrants of the middle and higher classes went more smoothly in industrial and capital cities, where education, social status and financial means were more valued, and where plenty of jobs for more experienced and higher educated jobseekers were available. We think that is indeed the case, but we also have to take into account that consensual unions (the so-called Stockholm marriage) were widely accepted in the Swedish capital, especially among the lower classes (Matovic 1986). Moreover, upper- and middle-class migrants in Stockholm had lower odds of receiving a first birth. However, the latter conclusion might say more about the spread of family planning than about access to reproduction. After all, we know that families from the upper and middle classes were pioneers in birth control practices (Matthijs 2001).

The event history analyses confirmed the greater access to marriage and reproduction in Antwerp compared to Stockholm, as the survival curves showed that in the Belgian port city migrants married at a higher rate and had access more often to reproduction. In this respect, we would like to underline that Antwerp's port revival, and thereby the city's economic success, was largely accomplished by migrants, since the city's native elite had been involved in textile industry, which had largely vanished in the early nineteenth century (Greefs 2008; Winter 2009). This might have created a climate in which in-migration was more appreciated. Moreover, the fact that Antwerp was flooded by national and international migrants, that the city was a gateway between Europe and the New World and that the city's economic prosperity was highly dependent on international commerce, might have created a situation in which migrants were more easily welcomed than in Stockholm, where industrialization was rather a domestic success.

Urban in-migrants in Antwerp had better chances of becoming socially included, and their chances grew even greater over time. In Stockholm, by contrast, chances for social inclusion were smaller and they got smaller over time. We could assume, therefore, that Antwerp's society was getting more open, while in Stockholm an opposite motion was going

on. Following this reasoning, the Belgian port city increasingly welcomed newcomers, while the Swedish capital was increasingly closing its gates for outsiders. This divergent motion might also be linked to differences in demographic growth. Since Stockholm kept on growing larger as a consequence of natural population growth and sustained urban in-migration, it might have become more difficult to find an urban niche for newcomers. In Antwerp, by contrast, where population growth was sharply slowing down towards the end of the nineteenth century, it might have become easier to find a job and a decent dwelling, since competition in the labour and housing market decreased. Most likely, it was a combination of structural changes in the labour and housing market and differences in societal openness, which explain the divergent trend in chances for social inclusion in Antwerp and Stockholm.

This reasoning is in line with other observations on processes of social inclusion and exclusion through time and space. In times in which there is no or limited competition between natives and migrants, newcomers are welcomed and it is relatively easy for them to acquire a position in the receiving society. This changes dramatically in times of economic decay, when the chances in the labour market decline and the attitude of the native population becomes more negative towards newcomers. In those periods, migrants are often considered as a threat and barriers are constructed in order to limit the influx of migrants (Lucassen 2005a). It is logical that in such times social inclusion is more difficult to attain and that social exclusion occurs more frequently.

Who turned into an insider and who stayed an outsider was related to cultural differences. According to the binomial logistic regression, French-speaking migrants in Antwerp faced a significantly higher risk of staying single compared to Dutch-speaking migrants from Flanders. However, the event history analysis showed no significant difference between migrants who were born in Wallonia and migrants from Flanders. We can conclude that Walloons married less in Antwerp, but that if we take the timing of marriage into account and control for the individual waiting times, there was no significant difference. This might suggest that the lower odds for marriage among French-speakers are a result of higher out-migration of Walloons, which might in itself be a reaction to social exclusion, but might simply also reflect different intentions and plans in life. Alternatively, the absence of significant difference in the likelihood of marriage between Walloons and Flemings in the evet history analysis might simply be the result of a lack of statistical power, as the number of Walloons was relatively small.

Next, the further away migrants were born from the city they moved to, the greater their risk of facing exclusion in the marriage market was. This was most likely also related to cultural

differences in the population of the receiving society, like dialect, dress and habits. These cultural differences fed the insider-outsider dichotomy. In line with this, the event history analysis showed that migrants, who originated from within the direct vicinity of Stockholm, had better chances of inclusion in the marriage market compared to all other groups of Swedish migrants. This can be explained by the fact that those migrants might have differed less from the native Stockholm population in terms of cultural traits, but it might also be related to the fact migrants who moved over smaller distances could more likely rely on assistance from family and friends of their place of birth, as it was easier for them to stay in contact with the home front. Furthermore, migrants who originated from the city's hinterland might already have had a better picture of what life was like in the city they moved to, since they were more likely to have visited the city before. These results are in contrast with studies (Lucassen 2005a; Lucassen, Feldman, & Oltmer 2006) that stress that the social inclusion of long distance migrants was easier as they had more human capital at their disposal, due to selection effects in the migration process.

In Antwerp as well as in Stockholm, international migrants had more difficulties in becoming socially included than domestic migrants. Cultural barriers in the form of language problems might have hindered them in finding a native partner, while the number of potential partners of their own nationality was limited. For certain groups, however, this was not the case. For example, this study indicates, a high degree of social inclusion among Russian born migrants, who benefited from the large Russian-Jewish community in the Swedish capital. This result shows the importance of the size and organization of individual migrant communities for the social inclusion of newcomers. In this sense, settled migrants function as 'beachheads' for newcomers (Böcker 1994). This is especially true in the case of chain or network migration. Already-settled migrants reduce not only the costs and risks of moving to an unknown destination, they also facilitated the settlement process by offering newcomers temporary shelter, by assisting them in finding employment, affordable housing, a marriage partner, etc. Settled migrants can also act as interpreters and they can help in arranging residence papers (De Haas 2003).

The insider-outsider dichotomy was also fuelled by differences in the age at which migrants moved to the city they lived in. According to the binomial logistic regression, the risk of exclusion was much larger in Rotterdam and Stockholm for those who arrived as adults compared to those migrants who arrived as children. Those who arrived young were largely socialized in the city they lived – they went to school there, had friends in the neighbourhood, etc. - which meant that they differed less from the native population and that they were easier

perceived as insiders by the native population. The event history analyses also showed for Antwerp that migrants who arrived at a young age had higher chances of becoming included in the marriage market.

In the case of Antwerp, no significant sex-differences were found, whereas in Stockholm women had somewhat lower chances of experiencing a first birth and considerable smaller chances of getting married. This is most likely related to the female surplus in the Swedish capital. As a consequence, female migrants in Stockholm experienced more competition in the labour and marriage market, which complicated their social inclusion. This result is clearly in line with our hypothesis. The logistic regression confirmed that there were no significant sex differences in the likelihood of getting married among internal migrants in Antwerp, while a male advantage was found in Rotterdam and in Stockholm.

The surplus value of this chapter lies, in part, in its comparative perspective. Most studies in the field rather focus on the social inclusion process of a specific group of migrants in a single city. Such studies, however, lack a certain dimension. Comments on the impact of contextual factors like societal openness, labour and housing market characteristics and demographic structures become more meaningful, once differences and similarities between and within groups of migrants in different cities are identified.

5 Birds of a feather flock together?

Patterns of assortative mating by geographic origin

This chapter draws in part upon the following publications:

Puschmann, P., Van den Driessche, N., Matthijs, K. & B. Van de Putte. (forthcoming 2016). Paths of Acculturation and Social Inclusion. Migration, Marriage Opportunities and Assortative Mating by Geographic origin in Antwerp, 1846-1920, *Journal of Migration History* 3.

Puschmann P., Van den Driessche, N., Grönberg P., Van de Putte, B. & K. Matthijs. (2015). From Outsiders to Insiders? Partner Choice and Marriage among Internal Migrants in Antwerp, Rotterdam & Stockholm, 1850-1930, *Historical Social Research - Historische Sozialforschung* 40 (2), 319-358.

Puschmann, P., Van den Driessche, N., Grönberg, P., Van de Putte, B. & K. Matthijs. (2014). Migratie en sociale in- en uitsluiting in Noordwest-Europese havensteden. Partnerkeuze en huwelijk onder migranten in Antwerpen, Rotterdam en Stockholm, 1850-1930 In: I. Devos, K. Matthijs & B. Van de Putte (Eds.). *Kwetsbare groepen in/en historische demografie*. Leuven: Acco, 115-153.

Puschmann, P., Van den Driessche, N., Matthijs, K. & B. Van de Putte. (2012). Marginalisatie en huwelijkssluiting onder migranten. Het acculturatieproces van migranten in de havenstad Antwerpen vanuit levensloopperspectief (1846-1920), In: K. Matthijs, J. Kok & H. Bras (Eds.) *Leren van Historische Levenslopen: Historisch-demografisch onderzoek in Vlaanderen en Nederland* (Pp. 145-180). Leuven: Acco.

5.1 Introduction

The choice of a marriage partner is a key decision in the life course and provides interesting insight into processes of acculturation and social inclusion, as it shows us who migrants share their most intimate (sexual and emotional) contacts in life with. It allows us to evaluate whether migrants mingled with other groups in the receiving society or whether they stayed mainly within their own group. Marriages between members of different social groups show that members of these different groups have frequent contact and perceive each other as social equals (Kalmijn 1998; Schrover 2005). If migrants marry almost exclusively within their own group, it demonstrates that the social distance between them and other social groups is large, and that these groups identify each other as fundamentally different in terms of identity (Schrover 2002).

Human beings tend to marry within their own group, in terms of ethnicity, religion, culture, education, social status, geographic origin, etc. The degree of homogamy is a good indicator of the degree of societal openness: The more people marry outside their own group the more open a society is (Van de Putte 2003; Blossfeld 2009). Consequently, the more migrants marry with natives and other groups of migrants, the more open this society is for newcomers, and the more willing migrants are to mingle with other groups.

Previous (historical) research on marriage partner choice among migrants has focussed almost exclusively on intermarriage between migrants and natives. Such mixed marriages have often been perceived as a final step in a series of adaptations, which leads to full assimilation into the receiving society (Gordon 1964; Lieberson & Waters 1988; Alba & Nee 2004). Mixed marriages are at the same time perceived as an outcome of, and a further stimulus to, the assimilation process (Lucassen 2005b; Schrover 2002).

The exclusive focus on mixed marriages in previous studies is a bequest of classic assimilation theory, which perceived acculturation as a unidirectional process with a single possible outcome in the end: full assimilation of the migrant group to the dominant culture of the host society. Ever since the formulation of segmented assimilation theory by Zhou & Portes (1993), however, it has become clear that acculturation can follow multiple paths and can result in different outcomes. It is important to evaluate all of these potential pathways and outcomes and to study its determinants in order to gain a more complete picture of acculturation and social inclusion in the past.

Another limitation of previous research is the fact that partner choice has been studied independently of the marriage opportunities of migrants. It is interesting to relate both processes

to each other, as the likelihood of marrying inside the own group is dependent on the number of potential partners in the own group. This, in turn, is a function of the size and the composition of that group in terms of sex, age and marital status. The smaller the own group, the smaller the risk of endogamy (Blau, Blum & Schwartz 1982). However, considering the large homogamy by geographic group, members of small groups are expected to have lower marriage chances in the host society compared to members of large groups (Van de Putte 2003).

In this chapter, we propose a new theoretical framework for the study of partner choice among migrants that overcomes both the exclusive focus on marriages between migrants and natives, and the ignorance of the marriage opportunities for migrants. In practice, we link four different outcomes regarding partner choice and marriage with respect to the geographic origin of the partner to four acculturation trajectories, as distinguished by Berry (1997). We make a distinction between (1) migrants who married a native-born partner (assimilation), (2) migrants who married a migrant from their own birth region (separation), (3) migrants who married a migrant from a different geographic background (integration), and (4) migrants who stayed single (marginalization). Together, these outcomes and the corresponding acculturation trajectories form a sliding scale in terms of social inclusion and exclusion. In this way, the acculturation framework and the social inclusion and exclusion paradigm are connected with each other. We think that this is useful, because in the literature both theoretical approaches rarely communicate with each other, while in fact they share many similarities.

We perform two types of analyses. First, we will look only at those migrants who married. We will model the likelihood of marrying outside versus inside the own group. Regarding a marriage outside the own group, we distinguish between migrant (integration) and native (assimilation) partners. We make use of multinomial logistic regression for this analysis, and we focus on internal migrants in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm. In the second analysis, we investigate the likelihood of contracting one of the three different types of marriages, against the risk of staying single. For this specific analysis we make use of a competing risk event history model of the Fine & Gray (1999) type. The covariates in the analysis consist of individual features of migrants that capture their economic and cultural capital, as outlined in the previous chapter.

5.2 Partner choice and geographic homogamy

Whether migrants marry outside their own groups depends, according to sociologists, on at least two conditions: the degree to which they have the opportunity to meet members from other groups, and the degree to which migrants have characteristics and resources that are interesting to natives and vice versa (Blau 1994; Kalmijn 1998; Blossfeld 2009). The first condition is known in the literature as the 'contact hypothesis' or 'intergroup contact theory' (Allport 1954). If migrants and natives go to different schools, work in different sectors of the economy and their social network is made up of people from their own groups, the chances of inter-marriage are small as migrants and natives have few chances of meeting each other. Consequently, few relationships will develop. Next, interpersonal relationships across group boundaries are believed to decrease prejudice and discrimination towards each other. At the same time, prejudice reduces the likelihood of having contact (Binder et al. 2009).

According to social exchange theory, partners exchange certain features in the marriage market (Rosenfeld 2005). In this respect, men with high social status and lots of financial means are believed to choose young, beautiful women (Taylor and Glenn 1976). In addition, it has been posited that men with extraordinary skills in the labour market marry women who have excellent domestic skills (Becker 1991). In both cases partners exchange certain features that are highly valued in the marriage market. Men offer their working power, money and status and women compensate them by offering their beauty, ability to look after the children, clean the house, etc. It goes without saying that what is valued in the marriage market changes over time. In this respect, the ability of women to perform domestic tasks has been devalued during the previous decades, while the value of their educational and occupational status has grown (Blossfeld 2009). Following the same logic, researchers of interracial marriage have stated that in the US whites of low social status marry blacks with higher social status. In this case, 'whiteness' is being exchanged for higher social status (Kalmijn 1993). In a comparable way, migrants might exchange their social status or beauty for the nativity of their partner.

Homogamy by geographic origin is caused by the fact that individuals have better chances of meeting someone within their own group compared to someone outside their own group; but, it is also a result of individual preferences and social pressure (Kalmijn 1998). In that sense, individuals in nineteenth-century Western Europe were free to choose their own partner, but the potential number of marriage partners was limited (Kok & Mandemakers 2008). Migrants could fall in love with somebody and, if the feelings were mutual, they could start a relationship with this person, but the parents, other family members, friends and the wider

neighbourhood had to accept the partner before a marriage could be contracted. Parental power was especially strong, as they were able to prevent their children from marrying, at least until they reached legal maturity (until 1901, in Belgium this was the age of 25 for males and females; from 1901 it was the age of 21; for the Netherlands it was 23, in Sweden it was 21 for males and 17 for females). However, after individuals had reached legal maturity, the parents' influence usually continued. In the Netherlands, persons who wanted to marry needed the permission of their persons until they reached their thirtieth birthday (Kok 2006b). In addition, the influence of siblings, other kin and friends and neighbours should not be underestimated. Relationships with partners who were not accepted by the social network had limited viability.

Apart from having the same religion and social class, potential partners were expected to be sought from within their own community, which, in the middle of the nineteenth century, was often geographically limited to their own village or neighbourhood. Proverbs existed like 'Court the boy next door, so you know what you get' and 'Lovers coming from far away are to be feared' (Ekamper, Van Poppel & Mandemakers 2011:115). A boy who dated a girl from a neighbouring village faced the risk of getting beaten up by boys from within her local community, as they wanted to prevent outsiders from taking their potential spouses away (Kok & Mandemakers 2005). In this sense, there were strict boundaries in the past with respect to love, sex and marriage, which especially affected migrants (Mak 2000). Before they were accepted as partners, they had to become insiders in the local community, which required adaptation. Alternatively, migrants could meet and mate with other migrants, provided they were available and interested.

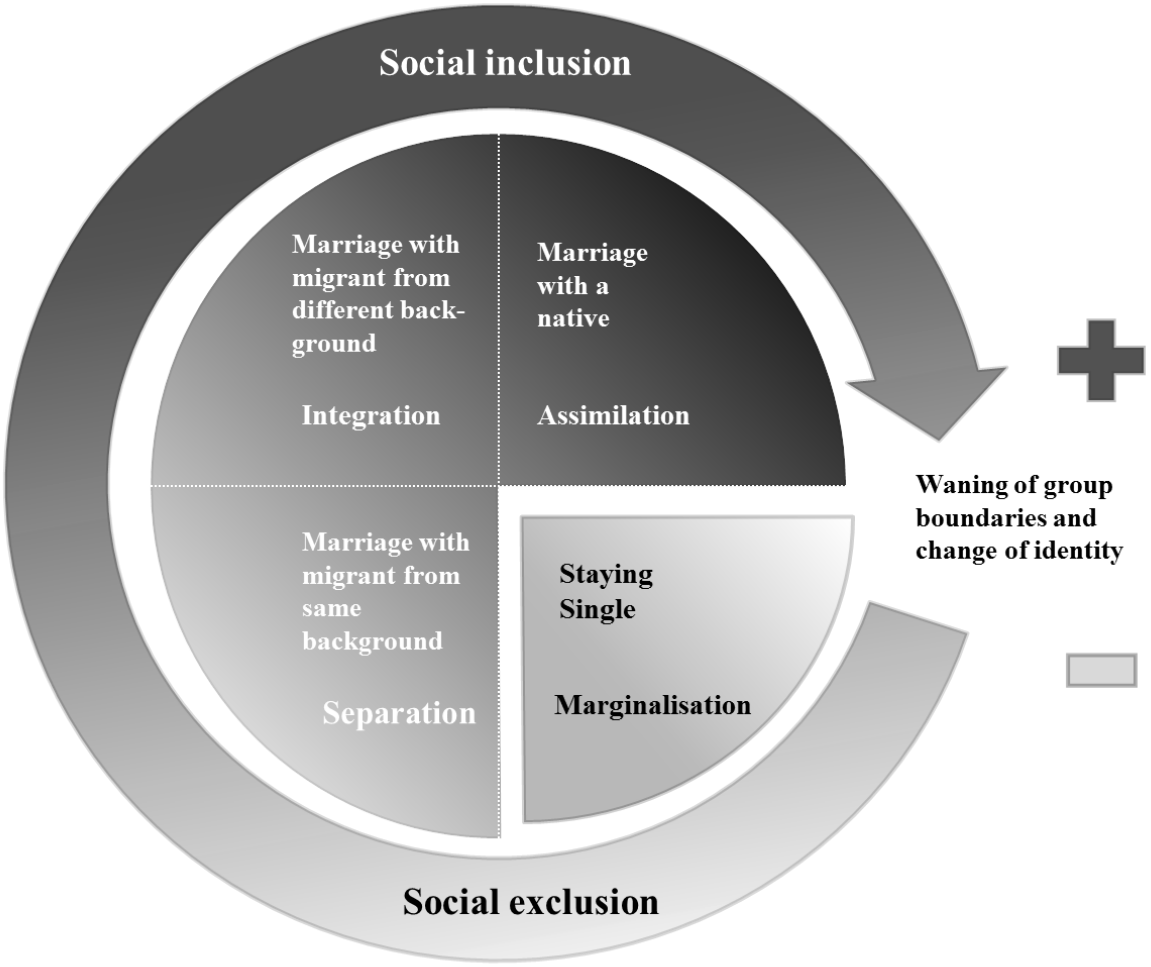
Three developments, which started in the latter half of the nineteenth century, seem to have had a certain power to dismantle patterns of assortative mating by geographic origin: (1) the introduction of compulsory school attendance and the rise of youth movements, (2) the extension of transportation networks, and (3) the rise of romantic marriages. The introduction of compulsory school attendance gave a strong boost to the number of natives and migrants who reached a certain level of educational attainment. More importantly, this increased the chances for migrants who arrived as children to meet people outside their own group in the classroom (Kalmijn 1994; Blossfeld 2009). This could lead to friendships, which later in life might lead to a marriage. The extension of the transportation network increased opportunities to meet partners outside their own community (Ekamper, Van Poppel & Mandemakers 2011). Within the city, the construction of tramways and the advent of buses could have partially overcome barriers caused by segregation. The rise of the ideal of romantic marriages is believed

to have had the power to perforate group boundaries, as love in itself is boundless (Van de Putte & Matthijs 2001; Blossfeld 2009).

5.3 Conceptual framework

Figure 5.1 presents the conceptual framework that connects the four different outcomes regarding partner choice and marriage to the four different acculturation trajectories, as distinguished by Berry (1997). We added a sliding scale in terms of social inclusion and exclusion. Simultaneously, we think that the different marriage types give a good indication of how rigid group boundaries are, and the degree to which migrants experienced a change in their identity and their feelings of belonging.

Figure 5.1 Conceptual model assortative mating by geographic origin, acculturation and social in- and exclusion



According to our conceptual model, migrant groups who married natives *assimilated* into the host society. This group of *outsiders* had become full *insiders*. Group boundaries between these

migrants and the native population had become blurred or had faded away completely. These migrants had their most intimate relations - emotional and sexual - with natives, who accepted them as social equals. This suggests that major socio-cultural differences between the two groups had faded away, and that the migrants' identity and feeling of belonging had changed. Moreover, the feelings of the natives towards the migrants had also shifted.

Migrant groups that married migrants with another geographic background experienced *integration*. These migrants had their most intimate contacts with people outside of their own group. Group boundaries were less rigid than among migrant groups that experienced separation, but they stayed largely detached from the native population. This group of migrants probably experienced a change in identity and belonging, but they did not necessarily identify themselves with the native population and the majority culture.[9]

Migrant groups that married migrants from the same geographic background went through a process of *separation*. These migrants had their most important and intimate relations with people from their own group and they probably maintained their cultural heritage and identity. The social distance between this group of migrants and other groups remained the same or was even reinforced. These migrants largely remained *outsiders* in the receiving society, and probably experienced segregation in the labour and housing market. Nevertheless, a certain level of social inclusion had taken place, since they had been able to enter matrimony in the receiving society at a time in which a marriage entailed serious economic and legal requirements.

Finally, migrant groups that stayed single over longer periods of time experienced *marginalization*. These migrants either did not manage to fulfil the economic or legal requirements for marriage or they did not meet the partner they wanted to share their life with. This might be due to discrimination or individual characteristics that were considered unfavourable in the marriage market. However, these migrants might also have deliberately distanced themselves from intimate relationships with people in the city. That is not to deny the fact that they stayed outsiders in the marriage market. This group of migrants did not form roots in the receiving society and remained outsiders.

[9] We have a somewhat broader interpretation of the concept of 'integration' than Berry, following the path of segmented assimilation theory by Min Zhou & Alejandro Portes (1993). We reason that these migrants might start to behave like and identify themselves with other groups of migrants and their culture instead of assimilating to the native population. For Berry, integration means that migrants keep their own culture and identity. We believe, however, that intensive interaction with other social groups affects their own culture, identity and feeling of belonging.

It is important to underline that this model is operationalized at the individual level, but that the results only refer to the group level. Our model does not state that all migrants who married natives assimilated, or that all newcomers who did not marry were marginalized. We analyze only the sum of individual behaviour, and we believe that, in that sense, our four meeting and mating outcomes are good proxies for the different acculturation trajectories distinguished by Berry, and the degree of social inclusion/exclusion migrants experienced.

At this point, we would also like to stress that our model in its present form is only valid for societies in which marriage is the norm. Getting married demanded serious economic and legal requirements and staying single over longer periods of the life course was coupled both with stigma and an increased risk of economic insecurity. This was clearly the case in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Western Europe, as we have outlined in the previous chapter.

Lastly, many of the more classic assimilation studies often assume that permanent settlement and assimilation are central aims of the migrants, and the acculturation process is often described in terms of 'success' and 'failure'. We know from recent studies, however, that not all migrants at the time aimed to stay permanently in the city and that they did not necessarily want to marry there or adapt to the native population (cf. Hochstadt 2002). Accordingly, not staying in town and not marrying does not mean that these migrants failed somehow or that they did not make their dreams come true. It is clear, though, that the acculturation process of migrants who remained unmarried and migrants who stayed single in the city differed from migrants who settled and married. In addition, it is informative to study who the partners of married migrants were.

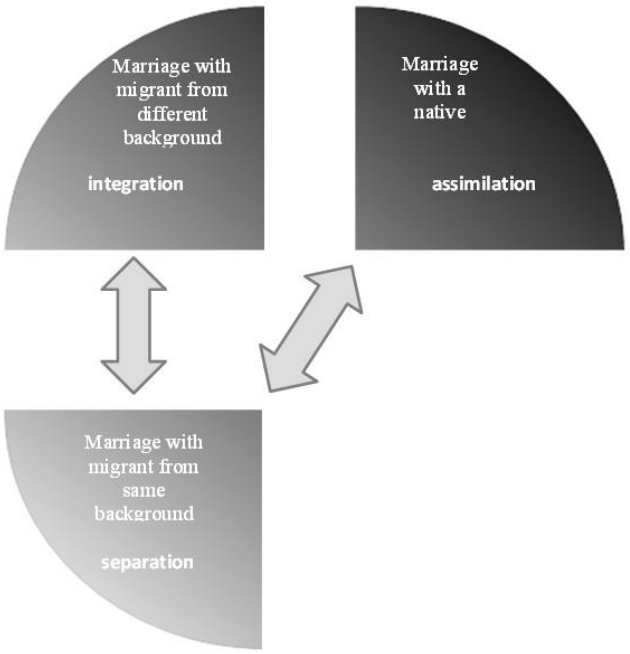
5.4 Marrying outside versus inside the own group

5.4.1 Data and methodology

In this section, we present the results of a multinomial logistic regression, which is used to evaluate the likelihood of marrying outside versus marrying inside the own group among internal migrants. We used the dataset, on the basis of which we evaluated the marriage opportunities of internal migrants, as detailed in the previous chapter (see section 4.5.1). However, this time we incorporated only those migrants who actually married in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm. Next, a new dependent variable was computed, which has three categories: (1) endogamous marriage with a migrant; (2) exogamous marriage with a migrant; (3) exogamous marriage with a native. The first outcome is the reference category. These outcomes correspond in our conceptual model with separation, integration and assimilation,

respectively. The variable is based on the birth place information of the marriage partner. Marriages with migrants from the same birth province are treated as endogamous marriages; marriages with migrants from another birth province are classified as exogamous marriages with a migrant. Exogamous marriages with a native are those marriages with a partner who was born in Antwerp, Rotterdam or Stockholm. The operationalization of the model is visualized in figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2 Conceptual model: Marrying endogamous versus marrying exogamous with a migrant or marrying exogamous with a native



5.4.2 Descriptive results

Table 5.1 gives us an insight into the patterns of assortative mating by geographic origin of those internal migrants who married during their sojourn in the city. The picture might be somewhat distorted by the fact that, contrary to Stockholm, for Antwerp and Rotterdam the birth place of the partner was sometimes unknown, as either the marriage certificate was lacking or the information was not provided or illegible.[10] In Antwerp, 19.6% of the marriages had a

[10] In cases where the marriage was contracted outside of the area covered by the data, we only had a marriage entry in the population register, and no marriage certificate. Consequently, we did not have detailed information about the spouse.

partner from an unknown birth place, for Rotterdam this was the case for 30.1% of the marriages. For purely administrative reasons, it is very unlikely that those partners were native Rotterdam or Antwerp dwellers. That said, the percentage of mixed marriages was low and it was much lower than we would expect if partner selection within the city had taken place randomly.

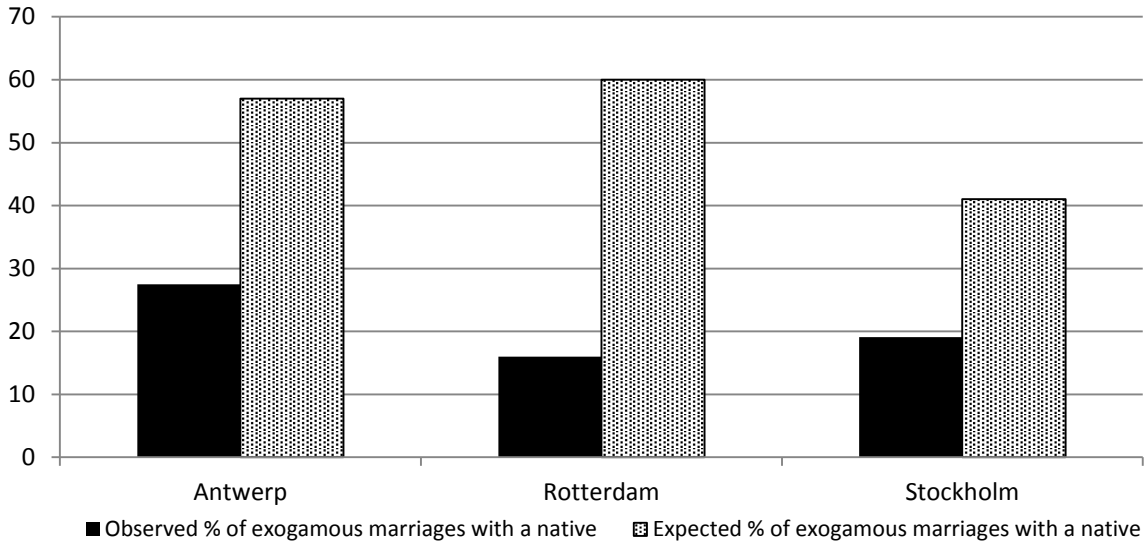
Table 5.1 Internal migrants who married, by marriage type

	Antwerp		**Rotterdam**		**Stockholm**	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Married	**403**	**100**	**632**	**100**	**7607**	**100**
Endogamously	110	27.3	155	24.5	1226	16.4
Exogamously (with a migrant)	103	25.6	186	29.4	4812	64.5
Exogamously (with a native)	111	27.5	101	16	1422	19.1
Birth place partner unknown	79	19.6	190	30.1	-	

Source: Antwerp: COR* database; Rotterdam: Historical Sample of the Netherlands; Stockholm: Stockholm Historical Database.

Graph 5.2 shows us, per city the actual observed percentage of migrants who married a native and the expected percentage of mixed marriages, if partner choice had occurred randomly. It only takes the group size of migrants and natives in the cities into account. Small differences between the expected and the observed percentages of migrants that married a native might be a result of imbalances in the population with regard to sex, age and marital status. The differences between the expected and observed proportion of migrants marrying to a native, however, are extremely large, especially in the case of Rotterdam. In the Dutch port city, we would expect that 60% of the migrants married a native. However, only 16% of the internal migrants who signed a marriage certificate in Rotterdam did so with a native partner. This suggests that there were serious barriers between natives and internal migrants, and that only a small minority of the migrants assimilated and experienced full social inclusion. Table 5.1 shows that only a minority of the migrants who married did so with a partner from their home province. This means that the percentage of 'import marriages' must have been very low among the migrant population, and that those migrants who actually married mostly found their partner among other groups of migrants who lived in the city of settlement. In the case of Stockholm, about two-thirds of the migrants who entered matrimony married a migrant from a different birth province. It can therefore be concluded that in Stockholm integration was the most experienced acculturation track for migrants who escaped marginalization.

Graph 5.1 Expected versus observed proportion of migrants marrying to natives



Source:Antwerp COR* database, Historical Sample of the Netherlands & Stockholm Historical Database.

5.4.2 Results of the multinomial logistic regression

Table 5.2 presents the results of the multinomial logistic regression of the different marriage types. Endogamous marriages with partners from the same province of birth are the reference category. In Rotterdam, skilled migrants had higher odds than unskilled migrants of an exogamous marriage with other migrants versus an endogamous marriage with a migrant. Although this result is only significant at the 0.1 level, it is plausible that migrants with specific economic capital had better chances of integration into Rotterdam (versus separation). Against expectations, a rather opposite result was found for skilled labourers in Stockholm. In the Swedish capital, compared to unskilled migrants, skilled migrants had lower odds of a marriage with a native versus an endogamous marriage. The middle class and elite in Stockholm, though, had higher odds of marrying a native versus marrying within the own group compared to the unskilled labourers. This implies that financial means and social status did have an impact on the likelihood of experiencing assimilation. Apart from this, no significant results were found for social status.

In Antwerp, French-speaking migrants had lower odds of marrying a native (versus marrying endogamously) than Dutch speaking migrants. We can assume from this result that language differences not only increased the risk of marginalization, but also the risk of

separation. In that sense, having grown up with another language formed a strong barrier to social inclusion. Next, in Stockholm and Rotterdam, urban migrants had higher odds of marrying outside their own group (versus marrying within their own group) compared to rural migrants. The effects were the strongest for marriages with natives.

For all three cities, we found that as distance to the birth place increased, the odds of marrying outside of the own group grew larger. This result was found for exogamous marriages with a migrant, as well as for exogamous marriages with a native. This effect is probably a result of the fact that the own group was smaller in the place of settlement for migrants who moved over larger distances. After all, most migrants in the city were recruited from the direct hinterland. The fact that we found this result also for Antwerp makes it likely that language was a larger obstacle to social inclusion than other cultural differences. After all, migrants from the distant Limburg and West Flanders had a somewhat higher likelihood of marrying a native, while for migrants from Wallonia the opposite was the case - they had considerably smaller chances of marrying a native.

In Antwerp and Stockholm, internal migrants had lower odds of marrying outside their own group (versus within their own group) if they arrived after their seventeenth birthday, compared to those who arrived as children. In both cities, the effect was strongest for migrants who settled after their thirtieth birthday. The age effects were also especially pronounced for marriages with a native. Thus, migrants who arrived early in the city had the highest odds of experiencing assimilation. This means that crossing group boundaries was strongly boosted by having experienced a considerable part of the socialization process at destination. At the same time, this also facilitated the likelihood of coming into contact with natives, since migrants who arrived as children went to school together and might have been members of the same association and youth movements.

Migrants who arrived in Antwerp and Stockholm after their thirtieth birthday had considerably lower odds of marrying outside their own group. This implies that arriving late in the city of settlement heightened the risk of experiencing separation. However, in Stockholm, migrants who arrived after their thirtieth birthday had higher odds of marrying a native versus marrying within their own group, compared to the migrants who arrived before their seventeenth birthday. This specific group of latecomers might have been especially attractive to natives, who were unable to find a native partner to marry.

Table 5.2 Results multinomial logistic regression assortative mating by geographic origin partner (reference category is marrying endogamous)

	Exogamous marriage (migrant)						Exogamous marriage (native)					
	Antwerp		Rotterdam		Stockholm		Antwerp		Rotterdam		Stockholm	
Economic capital	**Exp**	**C.I.**	**Exp**	**C.I.**	**Exp**	**C.I.**	**Exp (B)**	**C.I.**	**Exp (B)**	**C.I.**	**Exp (B)**	**C.I.**
Social class												
unskilled (ref.)												
(semi-) skilled	1.139	[0.610-2.129]	1.809+	[0.916-3.573]	0.944	[0.815-1,093]	0.756	[0.408-1.401]	1.27	[0.566-	0.773**	[0.645-0.927]
Middle class & elite	0.864	[0.300-2.493]	0.953	[0.407-2.231]	1.143	[0.892-1,465]	1.078	[0.381-3.053]	1.212	[0.475-	1.462**	[1.096-1.950]
Cultural capital												
Language												
other (ref.)												
Dutch	0.25	[0.047-1.345]					0.172*	[0.031-0.946]				
Distance (km)	1.009*	[1.001-1.018]	1.026*	[1.017-1.035]	1.001**	[1.001-1.002]	1.008+	[0.999-1.017]	1.024***	[1.014-	1.001**	[1.001-1.002]
Rural-urban differences												
Countryside (ref.)												
City	0.708	[0.347-1.443]	1.728+	[0.952-3.134]	1.184+	[0.974-1.441]	1.445	[0.754-2.768]	1.900+	[0.984-	1.776**	[1.422-2.218]
Age at in-migration												
< 17 (ref.)												
17-30	0.484+	[0.214-1.094]	1.178	[0.618-2.246]	0.638**	[0.489-0.832]	0.334**	[0.162-0.690]	1,617	[0.802-	0.278**	[0.209-0.369]
> 30	0.328*	[0.113-0.951]	0.89	[0.262-3.028]	0.413**	[0.284-0.599]	0.087**	[0.028-0.273]	0,795	[0.173-	0.171**	[0.110-0.267]
Socio-demographic features												
Sex												
females (ref.)												
Males	0.813	[0.440-1.501]	0.560*	[0.316-0.992]	0.831**	[0.727-0.951]	1.088	[0.599-1.978]	0.704	[0.361-	0.927	[0.784-1.097]
Age at marriage												
< 25 (ref.)												
25-30	1.796	[0.875-3.685]	1.027	[0.580-1.821]	1.086	[0.927-1.272]	1.027	[0.511-2.064]	1.063	[0.563-	1.005	[0.827-1.221]
> 30	3.944*	[1.654-9.401]	1.231	[0.671-2.258]	1.318**	[1.078-1.610]	2.054	[0.848-4.972]	0.88	[0.430-	1.443**	[1.131-1.841]
Birth cohort												
1801-1867 (ref.)												
1868-1881	1.776	[1.654-9.401]	1.014	[0.492-2.091]	1.076	[0.927-1.249]	1.122	[0.518-2.429]	0.733	[0.293-	1.224*	[1.008-1.485]
1882-1924	0.943	[0.825-3.823]	0.875	[0.474-1.616]	1.205*	[1.013-1.424]	0.943	[0.469-1.893]	1.255	[0.610-	2.033**	[1.651-2.502]
Place of residence												
(Antwerp)												
Suburbs (ref.)												
Antwerp city	0.375*	[0.156-0.901]					0.553	[0.251-1.219]				
(Stockholm)												
Poorest neighborhoods (ref.)												
Mixed neighborhoods					0.958	[0.768-1.195]					1.133	[0.864-1.486]
Residential neighborhoods					0.974	[0.835-1.136]					0.943	[0.777-1.145]
Nagelkerke R^2	21.5		21		6,5		21.5		21		6.5	
Log likelihood null model	693.5		907.5		12334.7		693.5		907.5		12334.7	
Log likelihood full model	627.9		817.2		119203		627.9		817.2		11920.3	

+ < 0.1; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001.

Compared to women, male migrants in Stockholm and Rotterdam had significantly lower odds of an exogamous marriage with a migrant versus marrying endogamously. This implies that female migrants were more likely to connect on a permanent basis to members of other migrant groups. They were probably urged to search for partners outside their own group, because there were not enough marriageable men available in their own group. At the same time, women might have been accepted more easily into other groups, compared to men.

In Stockholm, migrants who were born in the period 1882-1924 had higher odds of marrying exogamously with a migrant versus marrying endogamously with a migrant, compared to migrants born between 1801 and 1867. For exogamous marriages with natives the same effect was found for migrants who were born in the period 1868-1881. This implies that the odds of crossing group boundaries in Stockholm grew during the period of study, although, as we have seen in the previous chapter, the risk of marginalization also grew for the cohort 1868-1881.

In Antwerp, internal migrants who settled upon arrival in the city proper had lower odds of marrying exogamously with a migrant versus marrying endogamously, compared to internal migrants who settled in Antwerp's suburbs. Thus, it was easier to integrate in suburban municipalities. For Stockholm, no significant differences were found for neighbourhood of settlement.

5.5 Marrying inside or outside the own group versus staying single in Antwerp

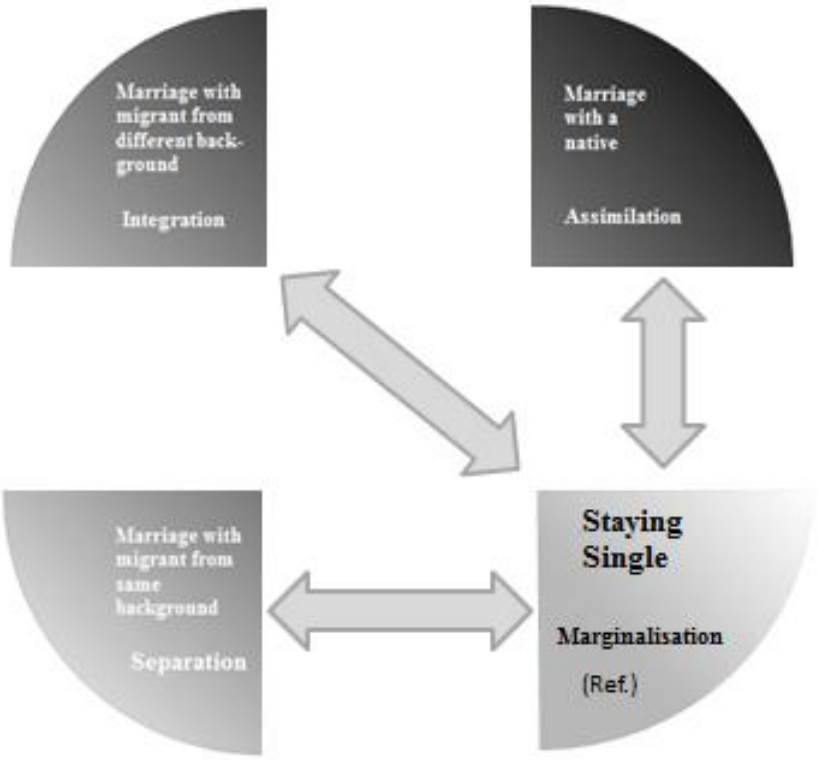
In the last section of this chapter we will model all three marriage types against the risk of staying single. In this way, the likelihood of endogamous marriages and exogamous marriages with migrants and natives is evaluated in the wake of their marriage opportunities. On a higher level of abstraction, this procedure examines the likelihood of separation, integration or assimilation in the wake of the risk of marginalization. We focus on Antwerp and include both internal and international migrants into the analysis. Figure 5.3 shows how the conceptual model is operationalized.

5.5.1 Data

We retrieved a subsample of all internal and international migrants from the Antwerp COR*-database, who moved as singles to the Belgian port city or one of its suburbs. By migrants, we refer to all individuals that were not born in Antwerp or the suburbs, but settled in this larger

metropolitan area between 1846 and 1920. For all migrants we collected the following life-course information: birth, in-migration, first marriage, out-migration and death. Next, we calculated the dates when the migrants turned, respectively, 16 and 50 years old. Those dates were added as events, in case the migrants reached these ages and were still living in Antwerp at the time. We stored the life-course information of the migrants in a person-period file consisting in total of 1467 individuals, of whom 738 were men and 729 were women. Relevant information on economic capital and the cultural, geographic and ethnic background was added. When the migrant got married during his/her stay in Antwerp, information on the geographical background was added for the partner as well. After the creation of variables and list-wise deletion in case of missing variables, our final sample is N= 1356 (N men = 675, N women = 681).

Figure 5.3: Conceptual model: Marrying inside or outside the own group versus staying single



5.5.2 Sample constraints

A type of bias, which could have affected our analysis, results from the fact that out-migration was under-reported. This type of bias can be problematic because it might lead to an over-estimation of the time at risk, the hazard function, the cumulative incidence function, the coefficients, and the significance levels might be also influenced by it. We tackled this problem by comparing information from the previous population register with information from a subsequent population register based on a new census. If a migrant moved out of the municipality in population register t (with or without having reported so), we will not retrieve him or her in register t+1 (unless he or she returned). Consequently, the person must have moved out between the last known moment of presence and the opening of the new register (see also section 6 of chapter 4). The exact moment when the person actually left remains unknown, but the range in which the migrants stopped being at risk reduces considerably. We created two subsamples where we censored migrants that were not present in the subsequent register either at time t or at time t+1. Since no significant differences in the estimation of our models were found between the two subsamples, we found it unnecessary to turn to imputation techniques. The results in the paper reflect the approach where we based the censoring upon t+1.

A final important data issue is the lack of statistical power. Readers should be aware that the small number of observations does not enable us to shed light on smaller differences between groups. However, the results that we do find are sound. Ideally, we would conduct separate analyses for men and women, but to split up the data even further when considering marriage types was not possible.

5.5.3 Variables

Marriage type (dependent variable)

We distinguished between five marital types: staying single, endogamous marriage with a migrant, exogamous marriage with a migrant, exogamous marriage with a native and other. These marriage types were subsequently linked to different acculturation paths (see section 5.3), except for the last group for whom we had no information on the spouse. The categorization is based on the birth place of the migrant and his/her partner. With respect to domestic migrants, marriages between two migrants with the same birth province are classified as endogamous marriages (separation). For international migrants, endogamous marriages are

marriages between migrants with the same birth country. Marriages conducted between two migrants from a different province and/or country are categorized as exogamous marriages with a migrant (integration). Exogamous marriages with a native (assimilation) are those marriages between a migrant and an Antwerp native.

Age at arrival

This metric variable is the age at which migrants first settled in Antwerp. We expect that migrants who arrived at a younger age had better chances of marrying outside their own group versus staying single. We expect these results to be especially true for marriages to a native, because these migrants were socialized in Antwerp for a longer period of time and had enjoyed, early on, opportunities to meet with natives in schools and youth movements. Finally, age is an indicator of beauty, fecundity and sexual capital (Hakim 2010). Young men and women have, on average, more sexual capital than their older counterparts. This is most likely attractive for potential native born partners.

Gender

For males (0) and females (1), the likelihood of getting married is often not equal. This is, amongst other things, related to sex-ratios. Since the number of men and women at marriageable ages was relatively balanced in the research period, we expect no significant differences between male and female migrants.

Social class

This variable is based on the first registered occupation of the migrant. The occupation was transformed from standardized HISCO-codes into a meaningful class-scheme, the SOCPO-classification, which is based on the concept of 'social power'. This class scheme was recoded into a variable that distinguishes between the unskilled, the semi-skilled and skilled and the higher classes (middle class and elite). Information on occupation was missing for 30.2% of the migrants. They are included in the analysis, but in a separate category. We expect that migrants with a higher social status had better opportunities of marrying outside their own group, and especially with natives. We expect migrants of the lower social classes to have married more often within their own group versus staying single.

Language

We distinguish between native Dutch speakers: (1) migrants originating from Flanders and the Netherlands, and non-native Dutch speakers (0). We expect that non-native Dutch had less meeting opportunities than Dutch speakers and that they were more quickly perceived as culturally different. Therefore, we expect them to have had lower marriage chances in general, and that they were more likely to marry within their own group. For the same reasons, we expect non-native Dutch speakers to have had worse chances of marrying a native compared to Dutch speakers.

Distance in kilometres

This metric variable is the distance (in kilometres), as the crow flies, between the migrant's place of birth and Antwerp. The distance was calculated on the basis of Lambert coordinates (distance as the crow flies between church tower and town hall). We expect long distance migrants to have had a lower probability of marrying in general, and especially to a native, because on average they differed culturally more from them than the short-distance migrants.

Rural-urban background.

We distinguish between migrants born in an urban area (1) and migrants born in the countryside (0). We expect rural migrants to have had a lower likelihood of marrying natives. We expect them to have limited their contacts more to members of their own group. At the same time, prejudices and discrimination against rural dwellers might have made it more difficult to meet natives (Van de Putte 2003).

Period

Two important events that caused change in Antwerp in the period 1846-1920, are the fall of ramparts in the 1860s and World War One (1914-18). We created birth cohorts based on the tipping points when the research persons reached marital age (16 years old). Due to small numbers, the variable was dichotomized into a period before 1845 and a period after 1845. Since the fall of the inner ramparts decreased (temporarily) the pressure and competition in the housing market, we expect migrants that were at marriageable ages during the latter period to have had increased chances of marrying exogamously with natives, since decreasing housing pressure might have lowered negative feelings towards migrants.

Municipality of settlement

We distinguished between migrants that settled in Antwerp (1) and migrants that settled in a suburban municipality (0) as a rough control for the segregation of the marriage market.

5.5.4 Methodology

The analysis distinguishes between different kinds of 'events', in our case different marriage types. To test whether there are differences according to marriage type, we turn to a specific event history model that has been developed for such 'competing events'. When stating that an event is 'competitive', we refer to the fact that only one event can occur first. We make use of a Fine and Gray (1999) model, a semi-parametric method that estimates cumulative incidence functions based on proportional hazards models for cause non-specific models (i.e. multiple events). The use of this method of analysis allows us to study the different marriage types in a way that is both easy to interpret and that permits the inclusion of various covariates in the analyses.

Figure 5.4 Fine & Gray model of marriage types

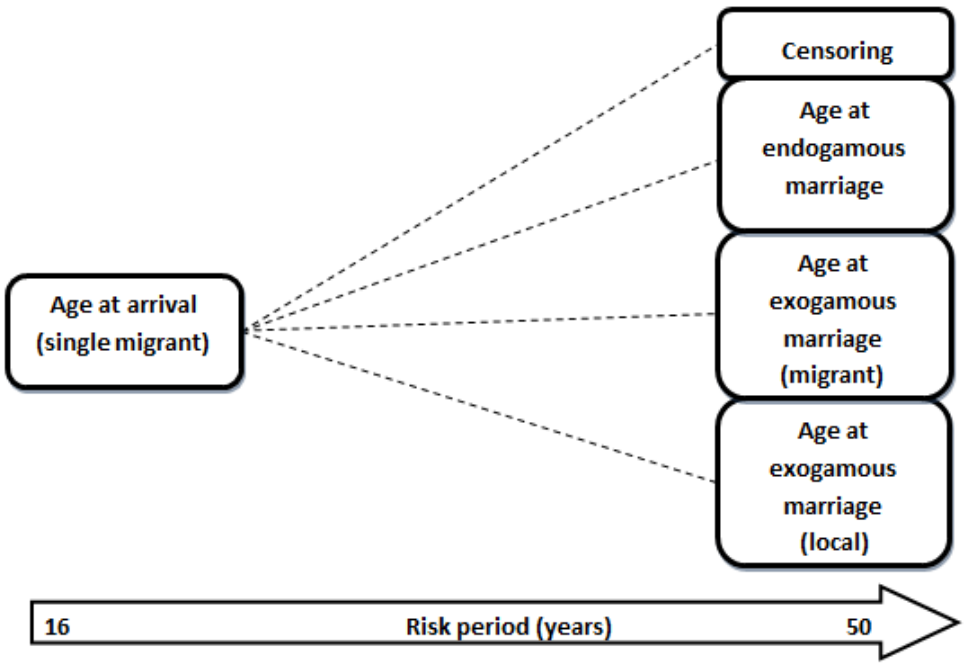


Figure 5.4 shows how we have transformed our conceptual model into a competing risk event history model. The observation time starts at age 16, assuming that migrants did not marry earlier. The end of the risk period is defined either by the moment when the event occurred (i.e.

age at marriage – either endogamously or exogamously with a migrant or a local) or by the moment the individual is censored for cases that did not experience the event during the observation period. Twelve migrants were excluded from the final analyses because their dates of arrival coincided with the date they were last observed. We assume that migrants who were still single at the age of 50 remained single for the remainder of their lives. Migrants who died before or emigrated before the age of 50 were also censored.

5.5.3 Descriptive results

Table 5.3 gives an overview of the independent variables according to marriage type. Two aspects stand out. First, the mean distance to the birth place is three to four times higher for endogamous marriages than for the other marriage types, which suggests that group size is not the most important factor behind distance, but rather cultural and ethnic differences.

Table 5.3 Descriptive statistics of the covariates in the Competing Risk regression

	Endogamous		**Exogamous (migrant)**		**Exogamous (local)**	
Continuous	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Mean**	**S.D**	**Mean**	**S.D**
Age at arrival	21	10	23	8,6	23.6	8.6
Distance (km)	51	1112	55	44	78	88
Categorical	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Gender						
Male	54	48.2	49	45.4	59	49.2
Female	58	51.8	59	54.6	61	50.8
Social class						
Unskilled	23	20.5	15	13.9	19	15.8
Semi-skilled + skilled	48	42.9	49	45.4	38	31.7
Middle class + elite	11	9.8	13	12	17	14.2
Missing	30	26.8	31	28.7	46	38.3
Native Language						
other	6	5.4	16	14.8	14	11.7
Dutch	106	94.6	92	85.2	106	88.3
Rural-urban background						
Rural	75	67	81	75	70	58.3
Urban	37	33	27	25	50	41.7
Birth cohort						
1801-1845	13	11.6	7	6.5	14	11.7
1846-1920	99	88.4	101	93.5	106	88.3
Municipality of immigration						
Antwerp	91	81.3	98	90.7	104	86.7
Other	21	18.8	10	9.3	16	13.3

Also noteworthy is the over-representation of unskilled workers among the endogamous marriages. These descriptive findings suggest that economic means were not that important in overcoming marginalization, whilst cultural factors do seem to have played an important role. To investigate the degree to which individual characteristics matter with respect to marital behaviour, we turn now to multivariate analysis techniques.

5.5.6 Multivariate results

Table 5.4 presents the results of the competing risks regression, which assesses the net effects of the individual characteristics on the different marriage types. The results are expressed in subhazard ratios (SHR), which is the ratio of the hazards associated with the cumulative incidence function and indicates the relative likelihood of getting married endogamously or exogamously with another migrant or a native, relative to staying single.

We found a violation against the proportionality assumption for the rural-urban variable (endogamous model) and distance (exogamous with a local). To fix this assumption violation, we introduced an interaction with time for that variable (time-varying coefficient - tvc). After assessing the quadratic function of age at immigration via martingale residuals, the squared value of age at arrival was added to account for the non-linearity of age at arrival when necessary. Even though our samples are very small, we do find some significant differences.

Migrants that arrived at later ages are more likely to marry endogamously or marry exogamously with another migrant, relative to staying single. The effect declines somewhat with age and has its maximum at 29.2 years for endogamous marriages and 30.7 for exogamous marriages with a migrant, at which point the direction of the coefficient changes. Thus, up until around age 30 there is a positive effect of age at arrival, and after that it declines at an increasing rate. This suggests that youth, beauty, health and fecundity were important partner selection criterion. Next, with regard to exogamous marriages with a native, we find that migrants that arrived young had a higher incidence of marrying a native. This corroborates our hypothesis that migrants who were socialized in the host society for a longer amount of time were more attractive partners for natives. Consequently, migrants who had moved young differed less from the native population in terms of dialect, habits and life style. Migrants who arrived early on in Antwerp, also had better chances of coming into contact with natives, for example through school and youth associations.

The only significant result for social status we found was for endogamous marriages. Migrants from a middle class or elite background were less likely than unskilled workers to marry endogamously, relative to remaining single. On the one hand, one obvious explanation is that the group of middle class and elite migrants had a more diverse geographic background. Indeed, the mean distance of this group is at least 20 kilometres higher than for the unskilled and skilled groups.

Being a native Dutch-speaker increased the incidence of getting married, in line with our expectations, though we only found a significant result for endogamous marriages. We anticipated that Dutch-speakers would have married more easily in general, as their language proficiency made it easier for them to meet people and to build up a social network. Here, two factors might be at play. First, the small sample might conceal smaller differences. We also notice, for example, a positive association between being a Dutch speaker and marrying exogamously with a native, but this result is not significant. One might therefore tentatively conclude that having Dutch as the mother tongue increased the meeting opportunities. However, a more well-grounded interpretation of the results is that group size is the relevant factor behind these results. Since a large proportion of the migrants in Antwerp came from Flanders and the Dutch were the largest group of international migrants in Antwerp, native Dutch speakers had ample opportunities of marrying within their own group.

Next, urban migrants had a lower incidence than rural migrants of marrying exogamously with a migrant (versus staying single). This shows that rural dwellers were not only successful in escaping marginalization, they were also more successful in crossing group boundaries. The latter result runs against our expectations.

As distance to the place of birth increased, both the incidence of marrying endogamously and marrying exogamously with a local decreases, versus staying single. This is probably the result of the fact that the own group is smaller for those migrants who moved over larger distances. Next, cultural differences between distance migrants and the native population increased with distance, creating barriers between migrants and natives.

Finally, birth cohort played a role in the likelihood of marrying exogamously with a migrant, relative to remaining single. As expected, individuals born in a cohort that became a marriageable age after the breakdown of the ramparts had twice the incidence of marrying exogamous with a migrant than those who reached marriageable age before the fall of the ramparts. While we expected this association also to be valid for marriage types, this was not the case. This suggests that decreasing housing pressure did not bring migrants and natives closer to each other. The results suggest a general effect of increased mobility: Because in-

Table 5.4 Results of the Competing Risks regression on marriage types (reference category is 'staying single').

	Endogamous			Exogamous (migrant)			Exogamous (native)		
Covariates	SHR	R.S.E.	Sig. [a]	SHR	R.S.E.	Sig. [a]	SHR	R.S.E.	Sig. [a]
Age at arrival	1.157	0.047	***	1.163	0.058	**	0.970	0.010	**
Age at arrival²	0.998	0.001	***	0.998	0.001	**			
Gender (ref: male)									
Female	1.053	0.228		1.071	0.220		1.082	1.946	
Social Class (ref: unskilled)									
Semi-skilled and skilled workers	0.765	0.214		1.146	0.367		0.724	0.205	
Middle class + elite	0.461	0.17	*	0.703	0.278		0.926	0.309	
Missing	0.717	0.228		1.117	0.367		0.766	0.217	
Native Language (ref: other)									
Dutch	2.048	0.880	+	0.947	0.301		1.385	0.463	
Rural-urban diff. (ref: rural)									
Urban	1.235	0.414		0.564	1.278	*	1.059	1.199	
Distance (km)	0.995	0.002	*	0.999	0.001		0.998	0.001	+
Birth cohort (ref: 1801-45)									
1846-1920	1.059	0.326		2.249	0.867	*	0.643	1.935	
Municipality of immigration									
Other	1.456	0.373		0.740	0.250		0.786	0.203	
Time-varying coefficients[b]									
Rural-urban differences	0.999	0.001							
Distance (KM)							1.001	0.001	**
N of observations	1344			1344			1344		
N of events	112			108			120		
N of competing	319			323			311		
Log pseudo likelihood null	-692			-669			-746.6		
Log pseudo likelihood full	-690			-667			-745.1		
Wald Chi² - test	***			**			**		

[a] Significance Level:+ < 0.1 * < 0.05 ** < 0.01 *** 0.001

[b] Time-varying coefficients interacted with analysis time (_t)

migration in itself grew, including in-migration from ever more remote places, the group of migrants in Antwerp became increasingly diverse. Consequently, the opportunities of meeting and mating a partner from another geographical background grew. This increased the chances of integration, but not of assimilation. In that sense, group boundaries between natives and migrants stayed rather rigid.

5.6 Conclusion and discussion

In all three cities, exogamous marriages with natives occurred on a much smaller scale than one would expect taking into account the group sizes of migrants and natives. Accordingly, one can assume that migrants were mostly perceived as unattractive marriage partners, which is in line with studies on partner choice of internal and international migrants in other cities in this period (De Vries 1984; Schrover 2002; Van de Putte 2003). However, it cannot be excluded that migrants distanced themselves, at least to a certain degree, from the native population. In that sense, a certain degree of aversion might have been mutual. The latter point of view is, however, less likely considering that 'import' marriages were a minor phenomenon.

Migrants who escaped marginalization did not cluster strongly within their own groups, but rather mingled with other migrants and, to a lesser extent, with natives. Exclusion from other groups seems to have been fuelled to a certain extent by cultural differences, which supposes that prejudice prevented migrants from mingling with natives. The multinomial logistic regression showed that internal migrants who were born in a French-speaking area in Belgium were more likely to marry within their own group compared to marrying outside their own group. This supposes an increased risk of separation. The French-speakers obviously had a different identity and a dividing line between them and the Dutch speaking population could easily be drawn. At the same time, language differences acted as a practical barrier between Dutch and French speakers. Next, the competing risk analysis showed that Dutch speakers had an increased risk of marrying within their own group, compared to French speakers (versus staying single). This, we believe, reflects the ample opportunities of Dutch-speaking migrants to find a partner from their home region, due to the large numbers of Flemish and Dutch migrants. The fact that, in this way, language problems were avoided probably played a role too.

That cultural differences had an impact on patterns of assortative mating by geographic origin is also suggested by the fact that migrants who arrived as children had the best chances of marrying outside their own group. These migrants were, to a considerable extent, socialized in the destination society, through which they differed less from the native population in terms of habits, dialect, dress, etc. The result suggests, however, that meeting opportunities were also important. Migrants who arrived as children went to school with native children and children from other migrant groups. This gave them the opportunity early on to make friendships outside their own group and to build up a heterogeneous social network.

Demographic constraints played a role too. The fact that women in Rotterdam and Stockholm were more likely to marry with a migrant from another group suggests that it was due to a surplus of women, making it more difficult to find a partner in their own group. Next, the likelihood of marrying outside versus inside the own group decreased with distance. This suggests that migrants who came from further away had less opportunities to find a partner from within their own group. The likelihood of marrying in the own group was smaller, because the members of that group were less well-represented in the receiving urban society. At this point, we would like to remind the reader that in the previous chapter we found that the likelihood of marriage decreased as distance to the birth place grew. The competing risk analysis for Antwerp showed that both the likelihood of endogamous marriages and exogamous marriages (versus the risk of staying single) decreased as the distance to the birth place increased. On the one hand, the own group became smaller; on the other hand, cultural differences between natives and migrants increased.

The previous result shows why it is important to compare marriage opportunities and partner choice: A factor like distance to birth place decreased the chances of marrying, but for those who did marry it increased the chances of marrying outside the own group. A comparable result is found for the birth place type. The analysis of marriage opportunities showed that rural migrants had better opportunities for getting married, but in this chapter we found that urban-to-urban migrants were more likely to marry outside their own group. We can therefore conclude that long distance migrants and urban-to-urban migrants had a harder time becoming included, but once they had fulfilled certain conditions, they were more likely to connect to other groups. Next to group size, the organization of migrant communities and chain migration might all have contributed to the fact that rural migrants and short-distance migrants initially found their way in the city more easily. These factors might have prevented, however, a more profound form of social inclusion in the long run.

There were at least two factors in the marriage market that could help migrants to cross group boundaries. First, the fact that migrants who arrived young were more likely to marry outside their own group suggests that sexual capital played a role. After all, youth correlates with beauty and fecundity. Second, economic capital did increase the chances of crossing group boundaries. This, at least, was the case for semi-skilled and skilled labourers in Rotterdam (who had greater chances of marrying exogamously with a migrant), as well as the middle and higher social classes in Stockholm (greater chances of marrying exogamously with a native). For Antwerp, no significant result was found in the multinomial logistic regression. Next, the competing risk analysis showed that migrants from the middle and higher classes in Antwerp were less likely to marry within their own group (versus staying single), compared to unskilled migrants. This result was most likely related to their more diverse geographic background, resulting in a small number of potential partners from their own geographic background in Antwerp.

Next, for Stockholm we saw that migrants from the later birth cohorts started increasingly to mingle. This was at least the case for exogamous marriages with natives of the birth cohorts 1868-1881 and 1882-1924 compared to the birth cohort 1801-1867. An increase in exogamous marriages with migrants was also observed for the birth cohort 1882-1924. One might think that the ideal of romantic love in the Swedish capital was breaking down group boundaries, but the more likely explanation is that the growing surplus of women made it necessary for female natives to search for their partner outside their own group. This is at least in line with the observed decline in marriage opportunities among migrants over time.

Further analysis could focus on characteristics of the partners, like social status or age at marriage, in order to test whether a certain exchange took place with respect to mixed marriages. By including the socioeconomic status of the partner, we can evaluate whether hypogamy and hyperogamy were linked to different acculturation trajectories and whether migrants gained economically from certain types of marriages (in terms of geographic origin), while they paid a price for others. By including the ages at marriage of partners we can test whether there was a link between patterns of geographic homogamy and age homogamy. It could be, for example, that younger migrants often married older natives who were unable to find a native partner. Next, it would be exciting to study the influence of the social network on different acculturation trajectories by including household composition in the analysis. One could even go a step further and look at chain migration. Did migrants who joined family and friends have better chances of getting married and escaping marginalization? Did migrants who had a network of

friends and family from the home region marry more often a partner from that region and experience separation? Were migrants without family and friends in town more likely to marry a partner outside their own group and follow an integration or assimilation trajectory? Were migrants who married a native at an increased risk of divorce? These and more exciting research questions can be addressed with large historical databases. The Antwerp COR* database, is particularly suited to study questions related to household composition and chain migration, as it is one of the few historical databases containing information on family members inside and outside the household.

Next, to draw more far-reaching conclusions about acculturation trajectories and social inclusion in Antwerp in future research, other aspects of these processes, such as access to the labour market, social mobility, health and mortality will have to be studied. It is possible that certain groups were relatively easily included in one realm of society, while being excluded in others. Finally, further research could benefit greatly from comparing acculturation trajectories in different contexts, and making use of (even) larger databases that enable researchers to study smaller differences between groups instead of the larger differences that our small sample conveys.

6 Success doesn’t come to you, you go to it!

Comparing social positions and career mobility among migrant and native men

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters we have seen that the access of migrants to marriage and reproduction was highly restricted and that they did not connect easily to the group of natives. In this chapter, we focus on the labour market inclusion of first-generation migrants, by studying occupational status attainment and career mobility among migrants and natives. The social position migrants obtained in the receiving society and their chances of moving up the social ladder are a good indicator of the ability of migrants to become incorporated into the labour market (Papademetriou, Sommerville & Sumption 2009).

Labour market inclusion currently receives much attention from national governments and the European Union and is a spearhead of social policy in Western countries. That is because labour market exclusion leads to multiple disadvantages in the receiving society (Cameron & Davoudi 2000). It has, for example, a negative influence on migrants' purchasing power, their housing situation, health and well-being, their social network and, last but not least, the educational and career prospects of their children, limiting the opportunities for intergenerational upward mobility. Social exclusion in the labour market also increases the risk of segregation and criminality. Labour market inclusion, by contrast, has the potential to decrease the risk of material deprivation among migrants, it reduces social inequality and it is likely to lead to more social cohesion (Toye 2007; Galabuzi & Teelucksingh 2010).

For many contemporary Western societies it has been observed that migrants generally enter the labour market in lower positions than the native population, Initially, they experience downward mobility, due to a lack of country-specific human capital, like proficiency in the host language, specific skills, training and insight into the local labour market; in addition, certain human resources are not easily transferrable across borders (Bengtsson, Lundh & Scott 2005; Chiswick, Lee & Miller 2005; Kogan 2006). However, migrants, who reside for longer periods of time in the receiving society, usually learn the local language, take up training and education, and finally adapt to the local labour market (Chiswick, Lee & Miller 2005; Kogan 2006). As a result, they experience upward mobility, through which a process of convergence in labour market performance starts. This closes the gap between migrant and natives. In the long run, certain groups of migrants even start to out-perform the native population, like Asian migrants in the US and Indian migrants in England, whereas others are unable to close the gap, like Moroccans in the Netherlands (Papademetriou, Sommerville & Sumption 2009).

The fact that today not all migrants experience upward mobility has cast doubts on whether this classic assimilation perspective, which assumes that migrants' career mobility is u-shaped, i.e. that they first experience downward mobility and subsequently are able to move up the social ladder, (still) applies to the most recent waves of immigrants in Western countries. According to Borjas (1985), more recent cohorts of immigrants in the US have a slower rise in earnings compared to previous cohorts. This, he believes, is the result of a smaller demand for labour and because the latest cohorts of immigrants are less positively selected in terms of human capital. Adherents of segmented assimilation theory (Zhou & Portes 1993) emphasize that a considerable group of contemporary non-Western migrants in the US is unable to become incorporated into the labour market due to their racial distinctiveness, and because the transition from industrial to post-industrial societies is believed to have limited the opportunities for social upward mobility, especially for the second generation of low-educated migrants. As attempts to become incorporated into the regular labour market might not lead to social and economic success, different ways of inclusion in their own community in the inner city are sought and found (Portes & Zhou 1993).

Segmented assimilation theorists, and with them many other scholars, implicitly or explicitly suppose that career mobility in the past was a relatively smooth process (cf. Bengtsson, Lundh & Scott 2005; Borjas 1985). However, the degree to which migrants in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries became incorporated into the labour market and achieved upward mobility has been heavily debated among historical demographers. Studies by Handlin (1951), Thernstrom (1973) and Crew (1979) are anything but optimistic about the chances for migrants in nineteenth-century- and early-twentieth-century European and American cities to move up the social ladder. On the other end of the spectrum, there are studies (Sewell 1985; Ferrie 1999; Lucassen 2004) that reach the conclusion that urban in-migrants were a selective group of people who brought with them necessary resources. This allowed them to adapt relatively easily to the labour market and to achieve major upward mobility. Sewell (1985) and Lucassen (2004) found, for example, that the majority of the migrants in, respectively, Marseille and Rotterdam reached even higher positions than the native population. Thernstrom (1973) and Leo Lucassen (2004) have both suggested that 'successful' and 'unsuccessful' migrants co-existed, but that the latter were more inclined to leave again after a short stay in the city.

In this chapter, we analyze the social inclusion process of migrants in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm, with the help of longitudinal

data and longitudinal techniques, which have not previously been applied for this specific purpose. Since the career of women usually ended after marriage and occupations were less frequently reported for women, the available data on women is less suited and less reliable for multivariate analyses (Schulz 2013; Zijdeman 2010). We decided therefore to focus exclusively on males in this chapter. First, we will 'reconstruct' the social positions and careers of migrants and natives and compare them to each other. We will evaluate the positions of migrants entering the labour market vis-à-vis natives and whether a convergence in labour market performance took place during the life course. Subsequently, we will analyze some of the determinants of the careers of natives and internal migrants in all three cities, with the help of multilevel growth models, a technique which is able to deal with the specific challenges posed by occupational data from population registers (Schulz & Maas 2010).

6.2 Theory

We broadly define labour market inclusion as the process that leads to a situation in which migrants enjoy the same opportunities in the labour market as natives.[11] Ultimately, migrants and natives will reach similar positions, perform in a comparable way and will be rewarded in the same way for similar work, or they might even start to out-perform natives. Labour market inclusion can be measured in several ways. Each approach illuminates different aspects or sub-processes of the same over-arching process. In this respect, scholars focus on employment and unemployment rates (Chiswick, Cohen & Zach 1997), wage levels (Chiswick 1978), occupational structures (Dryburgh 2005), occupational status attainment, and social mobility (Papademetriou, Sommerville & Sumption 2009). All these indicators can give us a deeper understanding of labour market inclusion as they allow us to compare positions and performances of natives and migrants in the labour market, and allow us to evaluate whether a process of convergence over the life course took place (Blau & Duncan 1978; Münz 2008). We will focus in this chapter on occupational status attainment and social mobility, because occupational titles, which were transformed into a meaningful social class scale, are the best socio-economic indicator we have available.

In order to explain social stratification and social mobility, scholars have focused on characteristics of individuals, households, social groups, and features of the labour market (Duleep 2015). When it comes to individuals, human capital is considered as the most important

[11] In other contexts, labour market inclusion can also refer to the incorporation of other disadvantaged groups into the labour market, like women and low-skilled, young and elderly persons.

feature (Chiswick 1986; Lucassen 2005a). It is an umbrella term for a combination of human resources, such as formal education, intelligence, knowledge, work experience, skills, creativity, taste and social relations (Bourdieu 1984). Migrants who are better educated, who have more labour market skills, more economic capital, more work experience and a larger network of friends and family in the receiving society, are believed to become incorporated easier into the labour market of the receiving society (Kok & Delger 1998; Duleep 2015). However, upon arrival, migrants are usually disfavoured in terms of human capital compared to natives, while migration, settlement and incorporation might consume considerable amounts of their economic capital (Blau & Duncan 1978). Occupational attainment prior to and immediately after migration is also crucial. Migrants who enter the labour market at a high position can be termed highly successful, but it is important to realize that there is usually little room for them to improve their situation, unlike those who enter the labour market at the lowest levels. At the same time, migrant groups who had a high socio-economic status in their society of origin usually have the steepest U-curve, since their migration leads to strong downward mobility, because their human resources are often not perfectly transferrable from one society to the other. Subsequently, these highly skilled migrants usually also experience the steepest upward mobility (Chiswick, Lee & Miller 2005).

Whereas human capital lays down the foundation for a good career, more country-, regional- or locally specific human capital - those skills that are context-specific - is important for the adjustment process in the labour market of the receiving society (Duvander 2001). Consequently, migrants have to invest in skills, like the destination language and/or dialect and intercultural interaction, and take up local training and education in order to be able to perform task-specific skills and to increase productivity (Chiswick, Lee & Miller 2005). It is also crucial for migrants to gain insight into the functioning of the labour market. Finally, migrants have to try to transfer their knowledge and skills from one society to the other. This is complicated by the fact that diplomas, certifications, occupational licences and credentials are not easily recognized across borders (Chiswick, Lee & Miller 2005). These issues apply nowadays exclusively to immigrants, but in an age in which local currencies and time zones existed, a national standard for measures was absent, and ordinary people identified themselves with their village or region, rather than with the state, the transferability of human capital was also key for internal migrants (cf. Weber 1976; Knippenberg & De Pater).

The degree to which migrants are willing to make investments in specific local human capital is dependent on their plans and prospects, and the degree to which such investments are

facilitated by the receiving society. Migrants who aim to stay for an extensive period in the receiving society are generally more willing to make such investments than migrants who intend to stay only temporarily, as the likelihood that such investments will pay off increases with the amount of time spent in the receiving society (Kogan 2006). Guest workers in north-western European countries in the 1960s and 1970s, for instance, invested little in language learning and social and cultural adaptation, as they envisioned that their stay was only temporary. Moreover, since governments conceived the definition of situation in the same way, investments in country-specific human capital were not facilitated by the state (Castles 1986; Martens & Caestecker 2001).

How much adjustment is needed depends to a considerable degree on the type of labour migrants take on. In this respect, Chiswick, Lee and Miller (2005) point to the fact that skills from certain professions are easier to transfer across borders than others. Generally, skills related to manual labour are easier to transfer than those related to non-manual labour, although within the latter category there is still a lot of variation. Chiswick, Lee and Miller (2005) give three examples, that of the economist, the medical doctor and the lawyer. All three have to learn the destination language and adjust their style of practice, but the medical doctor has to make more adjustments than the economist, and the lawyer even more than the medical doctor. Unlike the economist, the licence of the medical doctor and lawyer are not simply transferable. The lawyer faces an extra challenge, because each country has its own legal system, while economic theory and the human body are universal.

The geographic origin and cultural background of the migrants is also supposed to have an impact on the labour market incorporation process of migrants. Migrants might have to learn a new language or dialect, and they have to bridge culturally determined labour market practices. How big the differences are depends on the origin of the migrant. Migrants from countries and regions that are very similar to the destination society will have to make less adjustment than migrants from a completely different culture. In addition, it might make a big difference whether migrants grew up in a city or in the countryside. The move from one urban labour market to another urban labour market is believed to demand less adjustment than the move from a rural to an urban labour market. Moreover, rural-to-urban migrants were recalcitrant about settling in the urban environment and often preferred to make some money and then return to the countryside (Hochstadt 2002). This might have limited their willingness to invest in urban labour market skills and specific local human capital.

The demographic features of the migrant are also considered important, such as sex, age, age at in-migration and marital status. Women worked during the period of study almost exclusively

in specific sectors of the economy. They were usually not involved in heavy physical labour, like port labour, and they commonly stopped their professional career once they entered marriage. This affected the length and type of the career and the growth potential (Schulz & Maas 2010; Schulz 2013). Age is important, because younger migrants and natives usually enter the labour market at relatively low levels and enjoy plenty of opportunities for upward mobility, while older men and women are usually closer to their ceiling. In addition, older people generally experience more health problems than younger men and women, which is likely to decrease their productivity. Next, age at arrival is important, because young people are expected to adjust easier to a new labour market than older ones.

While marriage often meant the end of a career for women, it is believed to have boosted the employment opportunities of men. Due to their greater responsibility, married men are believed to have dedicated themselves more to their professional career and to have invested more in human capital (Kalmijn & Luijkx 2005). This belief was also shared by employers, who preferred to hire married men, while they were less inclined to fire them, as this was believed to have been less fair, given a married man's responsibilities towards his family (Schulz 2013). Furthermore, married men are generally healthier than single men, which probably increased their productivity (Donrovich, Drefahl & Koupil 2014).

Whereas human capital indicators, the geographic origin, cultural background and demographic characteristics of the migrants can give us an idea about the agency of migrants in the labour market, the features of the labour market or the local opportunity structure determine the migrants' structural constraints (Lucassen 2005a). In this respect, we can think of the demand for labour, the structure of the labour market and the degree to which migrants cluster in certain sectors of the economy. Discrimination often plays an important role too. Lastly, the interaction between labour market characteristics and the features of migrants are considered as crucial, especially the (mis)match between labour market requirements and the human capital of migrants.

Finally, the period in which people lived seems to have affected their careers. The industrial revolution is believed to have opened up the road to meritocratic societies, in which someone's talent, capacities and achievements are more important than the social status of previous generations (Kaelble 1978). More recent research proves that the industrial revolution did not cause revolutionary change to the rates of occupational mobility. Nevertheless, industrialization seems to have had a slightly positive effect on the opportunities to move up the social ladder (Janssens 2004; Vikström 2003; Van Leeuwen & Maas 2010). A question

remains regarding the degree to which profited from industrialization in terms of labour market inclusion. Anne Winter (2009) hypothesized that low-skilled rural-to-urban migrants were more easily included into port cities than into industrial cities, as they lacked the human resources required for industrial labour. We may therefore expect that the social inclusion process of rural-to-urban internal migrants in Stockholm was more difficult than in Antwerp and Rotterdam.

6.3 Social positions and careers of migrant and native men

6.3.1 Data and methodology

In this section we will 'reconstruct' the social position and careers of native and migrant men on the basis of their occupational titles. We focus on the ages ranging from 15 to 50, roughly covering the professional career of men in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm. The occupational titles from the port cities in the Low Countries originate from the population registers and, in the case of Antwerp, were supplemented with occupational titles from the birth, marriage and death certificates. In the case of Stockholm, it includes all occupational entries from the two data retrievals from the Stockholm Historical Database based on the Roteman registration system. For Rotterdam, we did not include international migrants, because of issues related to the selectivity of the sample, described in chapter 2. For Antwerp, we have 8,896 unique occupational titles available, which belong to 2,425 individuals, 55.2% of which were natives, 36.8% internal migrants and 7.6% international migrants (see table 6.1). The average number of occupational titles for each individual is 3.7. For Rotterdam, we have 12,507 occupational titles belonging to 950 individuals: 58.8% natives and 41.2% internal migrants. On average, each research person has 13.2 occupational titles. For Stockholm, we have 345,578 occupational titles belonging to 131,059 individuals: 22.2% natives, 73.3% internal migrants and 2.6% international migrants. The average number of occupational titles per research person is 2.6. The large difference in the average number of occupational titles per individual between Antwerp and Stockholm, on the one hand, and Rotterdam, on the other, is the result of the fact that for Rotterdam occupational titles have been provided by the database makers for each year that a research person was in the city. This is not the case for the Antwerp and Stockholm data.[12]

[12] Occupational entries in Belgian and Dutch population registers were dependent on the census and were only updated if other demographic changes occurred. By comparing occupational titles through registers and combining this information with other changes, the years to which these titles refer can be approximated. This has been done both for Antwerp and Rotterdam. For Rotterdam, however, the missing years were also filled by the database makers on the basis of simple assumptions. Most importantly, if a person in 1860 was a teacher and this person was also a teacher in 1870, we can assume that the individual was also a teacher in the years in

This is not expected to lead to big distortions, as we work with larger age categories and made sure that a decent amount of individuals was represented for each category in the analysis.

Table 6.1 Summary statistics for male occupational status entries, ages 15-50

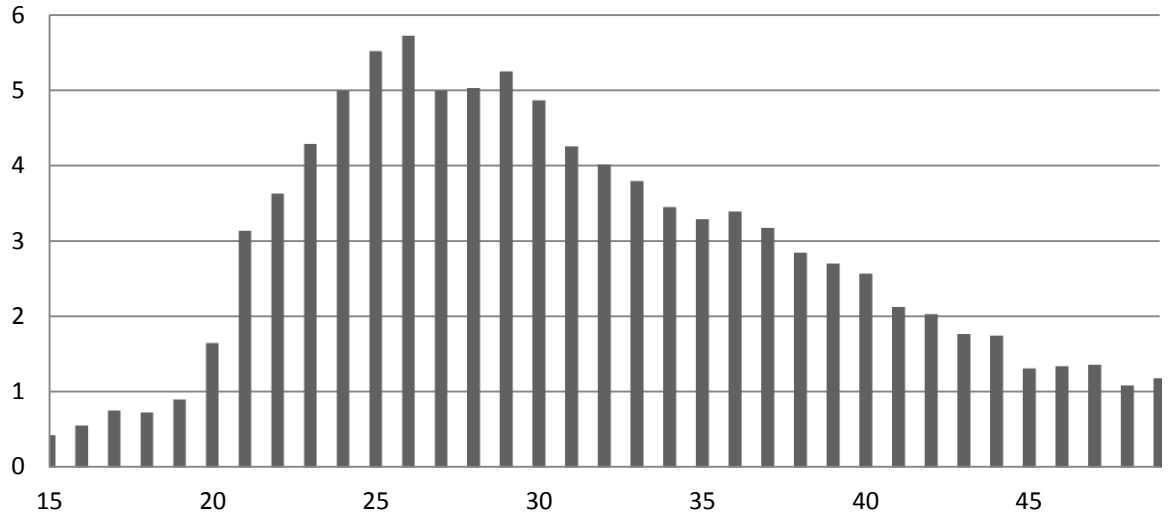
	Antwerp	Rotterdam	Stockholm
Occupational status entries	8,896	12,507	345,578
Individuals	2,425	950	131,059
By Migration Status			
Native	55.3%	58.8%	22.2%
Internal migrant	36.8%	41.2%	73.3%
International migrant	7.6%	n.a.	2.6%
Unknown	0.3%	n.a.	1.9%
Period covered	1846-1920	1865-1930	1878-1926
Average entries per individual	3.7	13.2	2.6

Figure 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 show that the occupational titles of males are for the three cities relatively well distributed over the different age categories. In the case of Antwerp and Stockholm, the distribution is right-skewed, and we find the largest share of occupational titles around the ages of 26 and 27. The large concentration of occupational titles between 20 and 35 is partially related to the large presence of (temporary) migrants of these ages. At the same time, it reflects the higher activity in the labour market during these ages. Before twenty a considerable proportion of the men were still enrolled in education. For Rotterdam, occupational titles are centred around the age of 31. A fat right-tail is observed, which makes it likely that a relatively larger share of men in Rotterdam was still professionally active during their late forties.

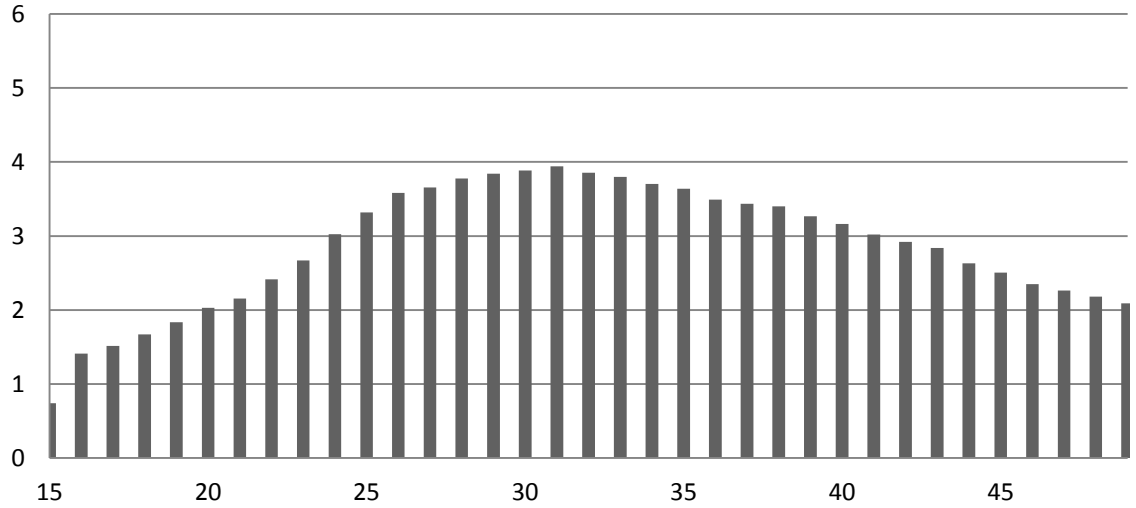
All available occupational titles are coded into HISCO and were subsequently recoded into HISCAM U2, version 1.3.1, an occupation-based stratification system for Western European countries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Lambert et al. 2013). The scale ranges from 1 to 99 and is based on estimations of social distances between pairs of occupations, which were measured with the help of data on intergenerational mobility derived from 1.5 million marriage certificates from Britain, Canada, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden in the period 1800-1938. The higher the HISCAM score the higher

between. In the case of Antwerp, the occupational titles were only assigned to the years to which they refer and have not been imputed in between.

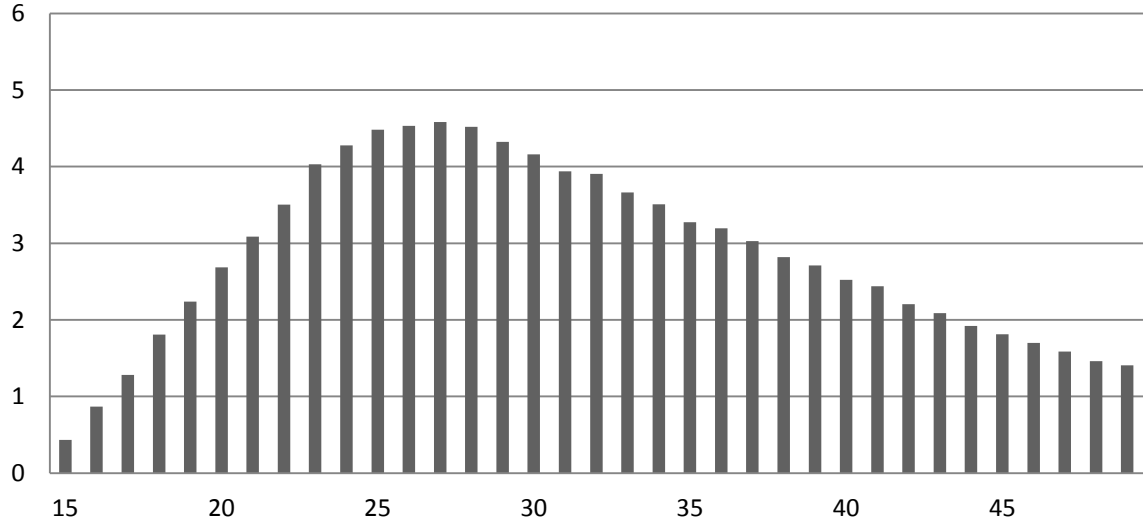
Graph 6.1 Relative frequency (%) of occupational titles by age, Antwerp



Graph 6.2 Relative frequency (%) of occupational titles by age, Rotterdam



Graph 6.3 Relative frequency (%) of occupational titles by age, Stockholm



the social status. A lawyer has, for example, a HISCAM-score of 99, while a servant has a score of 10.6 (Schulz & Maas 2010). HISCAM U2, version 1.3.1 was especially designed for the measurement of the occupational status of men in the period 1800-1938.[13]

6.3.2 Results

In the graphs 6.4, 6.5 and 6.6 all average HISCAM-scores for males are organized by migration status and age category for Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm. This provides us with information on social status differences between migrants and natives during their professional career. A first observation is that the average social status of men in Stockholm was lower during their early career than for men in Antwerp and Rotterdam. However, eventually men in Stockholm generally reached higher positions towards then end of their career. Men in Stockholm experienced thus more upward mobility. We can assume, then, that a large industrial hotspot offered more opportunities for moving up the social ladder than large port cities. The capital position of Stockholm probably contributed to the favourable climate for career mobility as well.

There are substantial differences observable between the social position of migrants and natives. International migrants were easily included into the labour market, especially in Antwerp, where for each age category they had higher average scores than natives. In Stockholm, international migrants also had higher social positions than natives. This is observed for all age categories, except for the category 45-49. The gap in social status between international migrants and natives was, on average, considerably smaller in Stockholm compared to Antwerp, underlining the highly favourable business climate for immigrants in the Belgian port city (cf. Greefs 2008a; 2008b; Winter 2009).

The picture for internal migrants is a different one. In Stockholm, internal migrants had a considerably lower social status than natives and the gap grew larger as they got older, suggesting that internal migrants were less likely to move up the social ladder compared to natives and international migrants. In Rotterdam, internal migrants also had lower social positions than natives, except for the age category 45-49. From age 30 on, a convergence in occupational status is observed. This suggests that internal migrants were gradually able to close the gap with natives during their thirties and forties. In Antwerp, internal migrants had a lower

[13] See also: http://www.camsis.stir.ac.uk/hiscam/.

social position during the age category 15-19 and a very tiny disadvantage is observed for the age category 20-24. For the ages 25-29, the situation was reversed and, during all subsequent age categories, internal migrants reached higher social positions than natives, suggesting that in Antwerp the labour market inclusion of internal migrant men went smoothest. The largest difference is, however, that between Antwerp and Rotterdam, on the one hand, and between Stockholm, on the other hand. In the two large port cities internal migrants were initially able to reach similar positions; subsequently, they started to out-perform natives, whereas in Stockholm they started at a lower position, kept a lower position and the gap with the natives became even larger during their later career.

We have to take into account that the graphs 6.4, 6.5 and 6.6 do not represent cohorts and might be affected by selective in- and out-migration. In principle, the relatively higher social position of migrants in Antwerp and Rotterdam during their later career might have been a result of the influx of older migrants with a higher social status and out-migration of migrants with a lower social status. To examine whether this was indeed the case, we first analyzed the social status upon arrival for the ages15 to 35, when the majority of the migrants arrived in the three cities. We then compared their social position at the age of arrival with natives of the same age. Subsequently, we followed the group of internal migrants who arrived between their fifteenth and twentieth birthday through their career in order to see whether they were indeed able to increase their social position and to improve their position vis-à-vis natives.

Graphs 6.7, 6.8 and 6.9 show the social status of male internal migrants at the age at which they moved to, respectively, Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm. These figures are compared with the social status of natives for the same age categories. The graphs demonstrate that in Rotterdam and Stockholm migrants entered the labour market of the receiving cities in all age categories at a lower position than natives of the same age. In Rotterdam, migrants who arrived later entered the labour market at lower positions, compared to migrants who moved early on to the Dutch port city. Migrants who moved between their fifteenth and twenty-fifth birthday entered the labour market at higher positions, compared to migrants who arrived later. This suggests that previous work experience of internal migrants did not facilitate the labour market entrance in Rotterdam. It also makes a strong case that the observed increase in social status with age observed in graph 6.5 is not caused by selective in-migration at later ages.

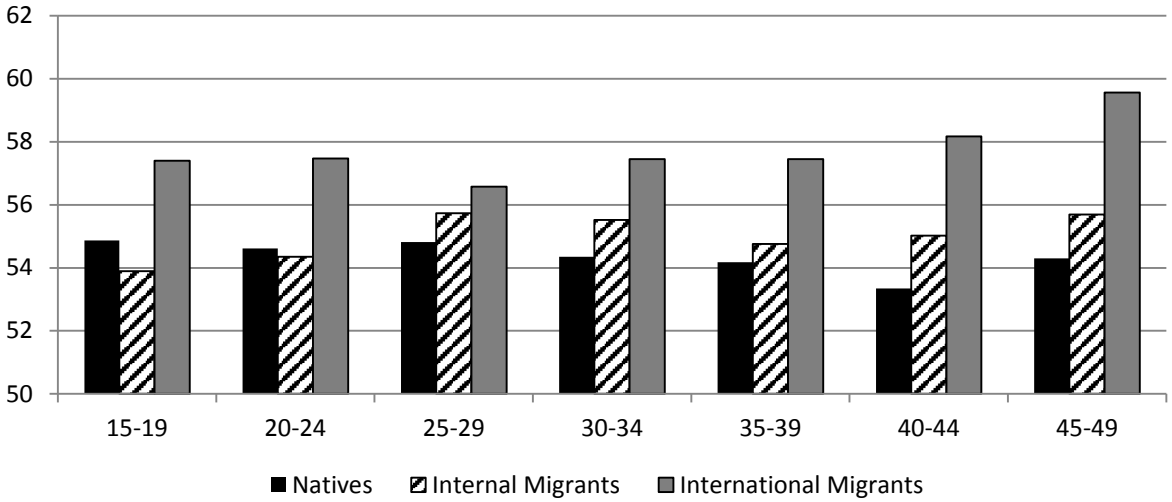
For Antwerp and Stockholm the situation was the reverse: Migrants who arrived at later ages entered the labour market at higher positions, signifying the importance of previous work experience. In the case of Stockholm, this was well below the position of natives of a similar age in all age categories. In Antwerp, by contrast, internal migrants who arrived between their

twenty-fifth and thirty-fifth birthday immediately entered the labour market at a higher position than natives of the same age group. This suggests that these migrants brought with them certain human resources that were highly valued in the Antwerp labour market and which facilitated their labour market inclusion and/or that they filled a niche.

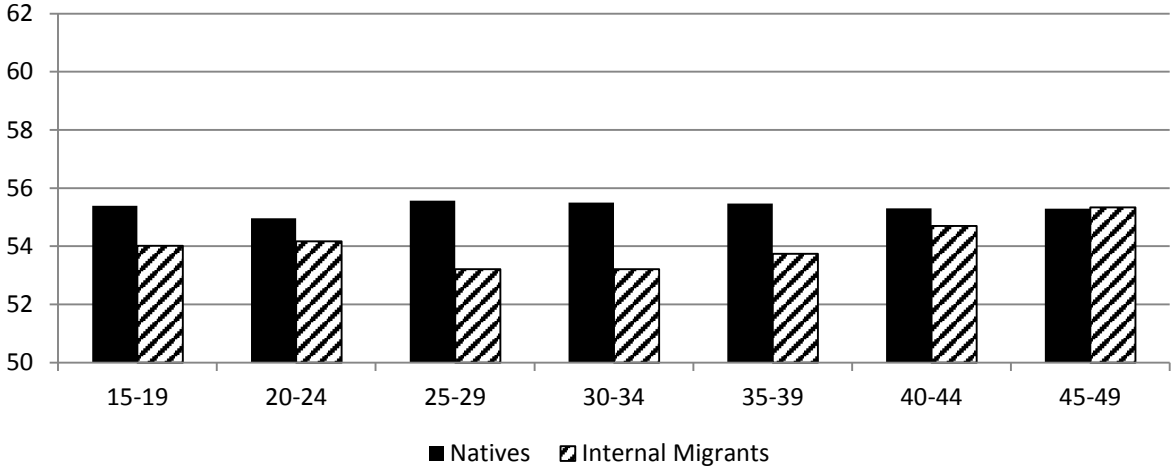
The next question is whether internal migrants who arrived early on in the city were able to improve their position, close the gap with natives and, ultimately, to surpass them in terms of occupational status. Ideally, we would follow a cohort of migrants who arrived early on in the life course in the city for this purpose, and compare their experiences to a cohort of natives. Unfortunately, this is not possible for Antwerp and Rotterdam as the selection criteria in terms of birth years, age at arrival and period lead to a too small number of observations on occupational statuses for a majority of the age categories. We have therefore constructed synthetic cohorts of migrants who arrived between their fifteenth and twentieth birthday and have 'reconstructed' their occupational positions for all age categories in which they were in the city. Migrants who left the city again are incorporated until the moment of their departure. Migrants who died are incorporated until they passed away. The results are displayed in graphs 6.10, 6.11 and 6.12.

In Antwerp, internal migrants who arrived in the city before their fifteenth and twentieth birthday had lower average HISCAM scores compared to those of natives, but they were able to move up the social ladder. By the ages of 25-29 they had surpassed the natives and they remained well ahead of them during the rest of their careers. Internal migrants who moved between their fifteenth and twentieth birthday to Rotterdam, entered the labour market at a slightly lower position than natives. In the subsequent years they faced downward mobility, but during their late thirties a process of convergence in labour market performance started and during their forties internal migrants clearly out-performed natives. In Stockholm, internal migrants who arrived between their fifteenth and twentieth birthday had, on average, lower HISCAM scores compared to natives of the same age. In the subsequent years, these internal migrants were able to move up the social ladder, but no process of convergence set in, as the social position of natives grew even faster, especially between the thirtieth and fiftieth birthday. Consequently, the gap between natives and internal migrants grew ever larger during their later career. We can therefore conclude that internal migrants in Stockholm stayed a distinct group in the labour market who clustered in occupations associated with a lower social status.

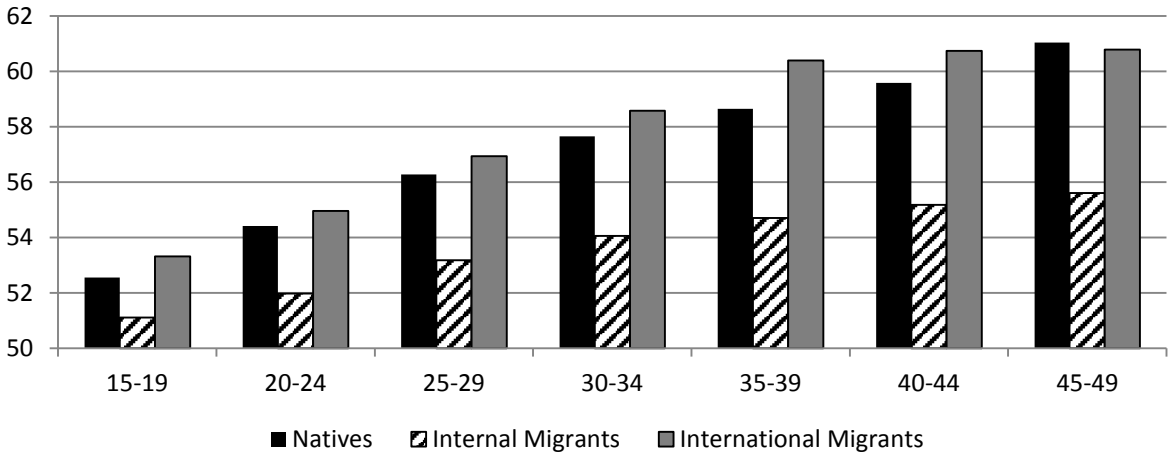
Graph 6.4 Average HISCAM scores for males by migration status and age in Antwerp, 1846-1920 (n=2,425)



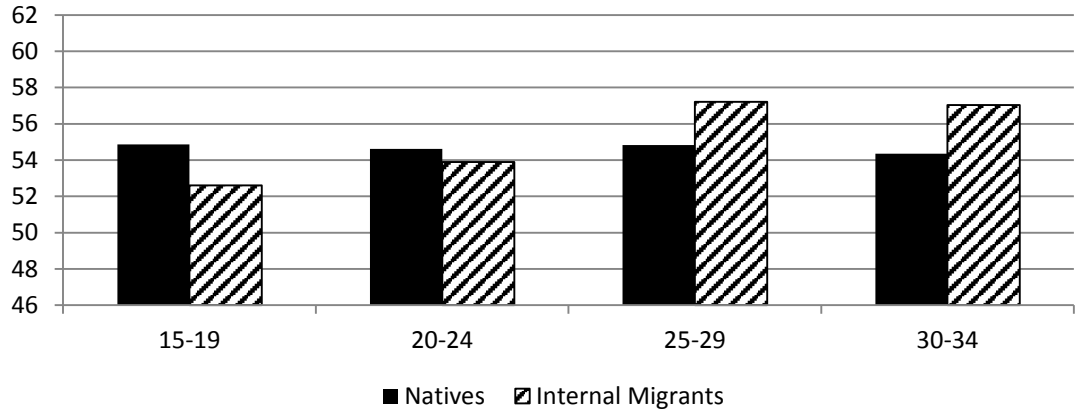
Graph 6.5 Average HISCAM scores for males by migration status and age in Rotterdam, 1865-1930 (n=950)



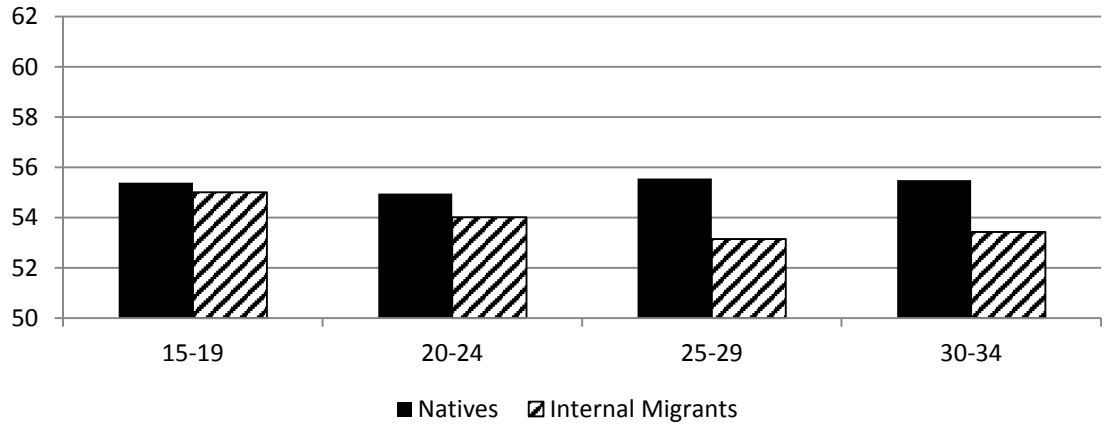
Graph 6.6 Average HISCAM scores of males by migration status and age in Stockholm, 1878-1926 (n=131,159)



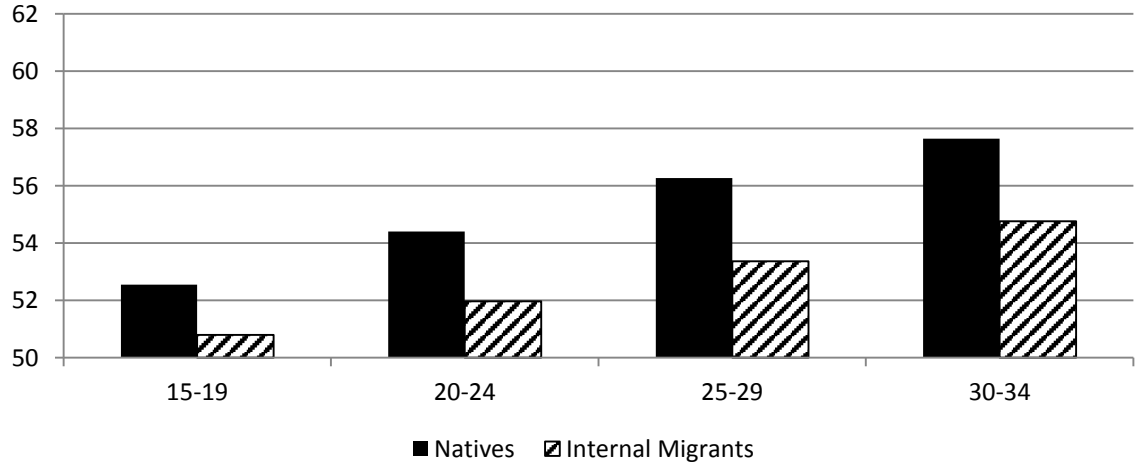
Graph 6.7 Average HISCAM scores for male internal migrants upon age at arrival, compared to natives with the same age in Antwerp, 1846-1920 (n=1,726)



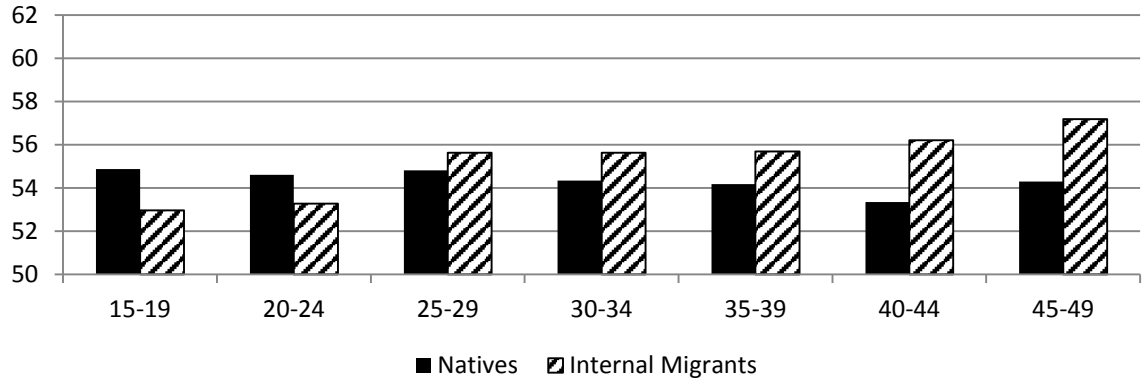
Graph 6.8 Average HISCAM scores for male internal migrants upon age at arrival, compared to natives with the same age in Rotterdam, 1865-1930 (n=812)



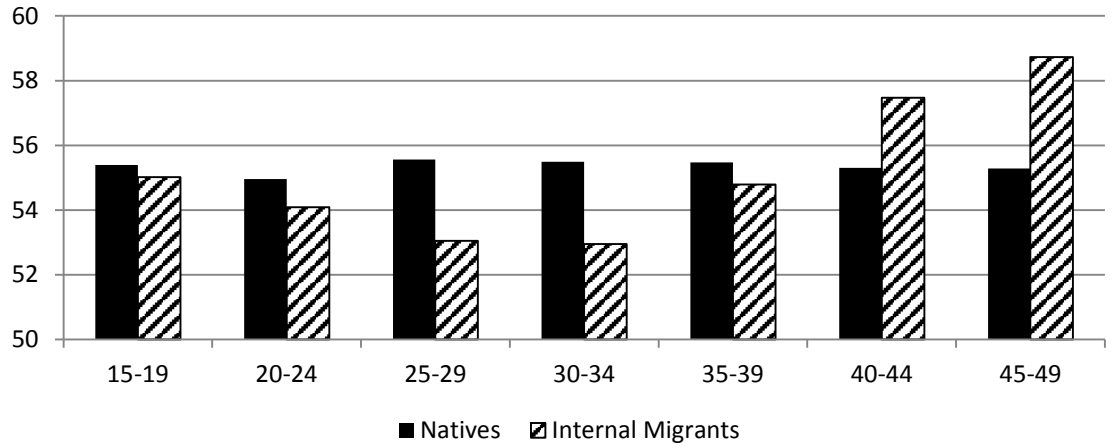
Graph 6.9 Average HISCAM scores for male internal migrants upon age at arrival, compared to natives with the same age in Stockholm, 1878-1926 (n=73,733)



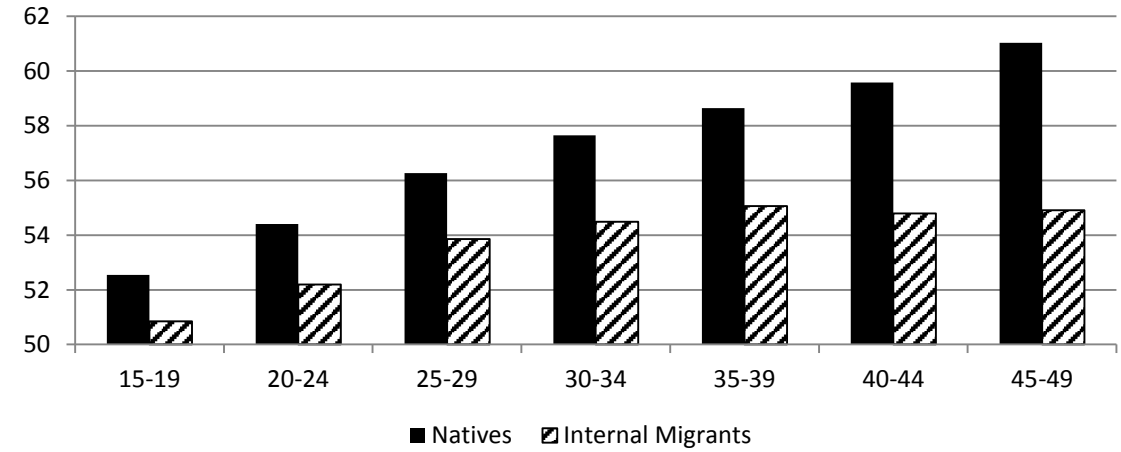
Graph 6.10 Average HISCAM scores of males by age of synthetic cohort of internal migrants arriving between the ages of 15 and 20 , and natives in Antwerp, 1846-1920 (n=1437)



Graph 6.11 Average HISCAM scores of males by age of synthetic cohort of internal migrants arriving between the ages of 15 and 20 in Rotterdam, and natives, 1865-1930 (n=607)



Graph 6.12 Average HISCAM scores of males by age of synthetic cohort of male internal migrants arriving between the ages of 15 and 20 in Stockholm, and natives,1878-1926 (n=37,148).



The above described results also give us some insight into the stayer/leavers issue raised by Thernstrom (1973) and Lucassen (2004). In the case of Antwerp and Rotterdam, the stayers among the male internal migrants were clearly successful, as they ultimately reached even higher average HISCO scores than the natives. Lucassen was entirely correct when he said that stayers in Rotterdam were successful, but this result simply cannot be generalized for other cities. After all, in Stockholm stayers were obviously not successful as the gap in social status between them and the natives grew even larger during their later career.

The question remains, what happened to the leavers. In principle, they might have been even more successful elsewhere. We tried to investigate this and followed 272 migrants who arrived between their fifteenth and twenty-fifth birthday and left Rotterdam before their thirty-fifth birthday for another destination within the Netherlands. We did this with the help of the 2010 release from the Historical Sample of the Netherlands. Unfortunately, this did not result in enough real occupational entries per age category to graph any reliable HISCAM scores by age category. Above the age of 35, we retrieved only 28 occupational entries that could be recoded into HISCAM scores. This clearly results in too few cases per age category to make any meaningful statements. The question what happened to the leavers therefore remains unanswered.

6.4 Determinants of occupational status

In this section, we analyze what individual characteristics were linked to higher social positions during the life course, in order to get a better understanding of what determined career success and what factors influenced the labour market inclusion process of migrants. We will focus on the geographic origin of the migrants, previous labour market experiences, selection effects in terms of human capital, as well as differences in marital status and period changes. The analysis is primarily exploratory.

6.4.1 Data and methodology

Population registers and the vital registration of births, marriages and death contain a wealth of occupational information on individuals, which can lead to major insights into careers of migrants and natives in the past. A large disadvantage of these sources is that they do not provide information on the (exact) start and the end of an occupation, and that the registration of occupational changes was dependent upon the occurrence of demographic events, like

migration, marriage or the birth of a child (Schulz 2013). This is problematic if we want to apply event history techniques, since the occurrence and timing of events - in this case, occupational change - are crucial for any type of event history analysis (Allison 1984; Maas 2004). This disadvantage also applies to the data from the Antwerp COR* database and the Historical Sample of the Netherlands, as they are based on Dutch and Belgian population registers, which spanned, on average, ten years, and - in the case of Antwerp - on birth, marriage and death certificates. For Stockholm, this problem is less applicable as the Roteman in principle kept occupational information up to date and the annual census functioned as a control mechanism. Nevertheless, the exact start and end of an occupation is not always provided.

Wiebke Schulz and Ineke Maas (2010) recently proposed and applied a new way of studying historical careers with the help of multilevel growth models, which can handle unbalanced research designs. There are two levels of analysis in this approach: the first refers to the individual and the second to all the occupations belonging to that individual. Changes in status attainment scores are separately modelled on the basis of growth curves for each individual. Both the initial starting level (random intercept) and the growth (random slope) between the different measurement points are variable. The difference in the careers of the individuals can subsequently be modelled on the basis of time-constant and time-varying variables. The multilevel growth model approach assumes that social status increases with age (Schulz & Maas 2010).

We will apply the above described method to the occupational data of internal migrants and natives in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm. We focus exclusively on males, and we did not include international migrants, because the sample of international migrants on Rotterdam did not meet our research criteria.

First, we take a model for all three cities together with a control variable, which takes differences in the sample of the three cities into account. Subsequently, we will run separate analyses on the datasets for Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm.

6.4.2 Variables

Occupational status (dependent variable)

The occupational status of research persons is measured on the basis of all occupational entries of males we found in the databases, at any given moment in their life course, between their fifteenth and fiftieth birthday. This roughly covers the ages when men were active in the labour

market (Schulz 2014). These occupational titles are coded into HISCO and recoded into HISCAM U2, version 1.3.1.

Age

In order to evaluate the impact of experience on the occupational status of individuals we include age as a continuous variable in the model. The values are centred on the mean. We expect that individuals with more labour market experience reached higher occupational positions, as they are believed to have been more valued by employers. Consequently, it is expected that experienced men easier obtained a good job and were less likely to lose their job (Schulz 2014).

Age²

This variable is added to examine whether the impact of previous experiences on occupational status declines during their later career. We expect this to be the case as previous studies show that an individual's social status levels off towards the end of their career. This is believed to be related to the fact that the productivity of men declines at older ages (Reitz 2001).

City (joint analysis only).

This categorical variable accounts for differences in the sample structure between Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm in the joint analysis. Antwerp is the reference category.

Migration Status

A distinction is drawn between native born urban dwellers – males who were born in Antwerp, Rotterdam or Stockholm - and internal migrants, consisting of males who were born elsewhere in respectively Belgium, the Netherlands and Sweden. We expect that internal migrants in Stockholm had a lower occupational status than natives. We expect no significant differences between Rotterdam and Stockholm, as the results in the previous section indicated that migrants initially had lower social positions, but during the latter part of their career the situation was reversed.

Distance

The distance between the birth place and the place of settlement is measured in terms of how the crow flies and on the basis of x and y coordinates. It is expressed in kilometres. Distance is

centred on the mean, and in order to facilitate the convergence of the model, the distance is divided by 10. We expect that the chances of reaching a higher position increased with distance to the birth place, as previous studies showed that long-distance migrants had more human capital and moved within well-defined networks (Sewell 1985; Greefs 1998b; Lucassen 2004; Winter 2009). Moving over long distance requires more financial means and more information. Accordingly, long-distance migrants are believed to have been positively selected in terms of economic means and education.

Marital status

This is a categorical variable distinguishing between single, married, divorced and widowed men. Single men are the reference category. Since married men are believed to have devoted themselves more to their professional careers, and because employers trusted them more (Schulz 2014), we expect them to have reached higher social positions than single men. We expect that divorced and widowed men also reached higher positions than single men, because of the fact that they had been married in the past. However, the loss of a partner and their worse average health (compared to married men) might have led to a decrease in their productivity (Donrovich, Drefahl & Koupil 2014). We expect therefore a less positive effect for the divorced and widowed men compared to the married men.

Birth place type

This is a categorical variable distinguishing between men who were born in a city and men who were born in the countryside. The latter group is the reference category. Urban-born dwellers are expected to reach higher occupational statuses, as they had, on average, more human capital, but also because the adjustment process from one urban labour market to another is expected to have gone more smoothly than the move from a rural to an urban labour market. In addition, rural-to-urban migrants often encountered prejudice and discrimination (Van de Putte 2003). Lastly, rural-to-urban migrants might have been less willing to invest in local-specific human capital, as they were often unwilling to settle in the city; instead, they moved back and forth between the countryside and the city (Hochstadt 2002).

Period

This variable measures the decades passed since December 1865 in order to evaluate whether individual men reached, on average, higher positions over time. We think that this was the case, thanks to modernization processes, especially industrialization. Since industrialization

Table 6.2 Descriptive statistics multilevel growth models on occupational status

		Antwerp			Rotterdam			Stockholm			Appended dataset		
		Min	**Max**	**Mean**	**Min**	**Max**	**Mean**	**Min**	**Max**	**Mean**	**Min**	**Max**	**Mean**
Occupational Status (Hiscam values)		39.9	99.0	55.2	39.9	99.0	55.2	39.9	99.0	55.6	39.9	99	51.59
Age		-16.5	31.2	-2.5	-18.8	31.2	0.0	-18.1	31.9	0.0	-18.1	31.9	0.0
Age²		0.2	1120.9	103.1	0.0	974.7	132.1	0.0	1016.8	118.0	0.0	1017.1	118.3
Distance (km/10)		-1.3	13.5	0.0	-1.6	43.1	0.0	-16	72.2	0.0	-15.2	73.0	0.0
Period (dec. 1865)		0.0	5.4	2.6	0.0	5.5	4.5	1.2	6.0	3.5	0.0	6.0	3.5
		n		**%**	**n**		**%**	**n**		**%**	**n**		**%**
Migration Status	*Native*	4,436		69.3%	8,582		75.1%	75,434		23.0%	88,452		25.6%
	Migrant	1,962		31.7%	2,851		24.9%	252,767		77.0%	257,580		74.4%
Marital status	*Single*	914		14.3%	3,670		32.1%	150,162		45.7%	154,746		44.7%
	Married	5,337		83.4%	7,571		66.2%	169,408		51.7%	182,316		52.7%
	Widowed	136		0.2%	157		1.3%	6,791		2.1%	7,084		2.0%
	Divorced	11		0.1%	35		0.3%	1,840		0.6%	1,886		0.5%
Birth place type	*Rural*	2,593		40.5%	1,919		16.8%	209,128		63.7%	213,640		38.3%
	Urban	3,805		59.5%	9,514		83.2%	119,073		36.3%	132,392		61.7%
City	*Antwerp*										6,398		1.8%
	Rotterdam										11,433		3.3%
	Stockholm										328,201		94.8%

was particularly strong in Stockholm, we expect a strong effect for the Swedish capital. This variable is centred on the mean.

Variables with missing values were list-wise deleted. Subsequently, the three separate datasets on Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm were appended. In this way, a fourth dataset was created. The descriptive statistics on the dependent and the independent variables are provided in table 6.2.

6.4.3 Results multilevel growth models

The results of the multilevel growth analysis on the appended dataset are displayed in table 6.2. Model 1 contains the intercept, the age of the research person (centred on the mean age of 31.76 years) and a variable that distinguishes between the samples of Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm. The model indicates that the variance in social status is much larger between than within individuals. The intercept is highly significant and so is age. The effect of age is positive: Every extra year of life was associated with an increase of, on average, 0.153 HISCAM points. This shows the positive impact of previous labour market experiences in the labour market on their later career. Next, we found a significant difference between the Stockholm sample and the reference category of Antwerp, suggesting that the likelihood of reaching a higher social position was smaller in Stockholm compared to Antwerp. According to model 1, the Rotterdam sample did not differ significantly from Antwerp in terms of social status.

In model 2, we added migration status, the distance to the birth place, the squared age, marital status, the birth place type and period. A first observation is that when these variables are added, the previously observed effect that, in Stockholm, the chances of reaching a higher position were lower or disappeared, while now a significant negative effect is found for the Rotterdam sample (compared to Antwerp). In addition, the effect of age has become smaller. Migrants had, on average, a 0.961 points lower HISCAM score than natives. This result is highly significant. The squared age term suggests that the growth in social status slows down in the course of the career. Moreover, a positive association between the distance to the birth place and social status was found: Every additional ten kilometres were associated with an average increase of 0.097 points in the HISCAM score. This suggests a selection effect in terms of human capital of the type described by, amongst others, Greefs (1998a; 1998b), Lucassen (2004), Sewell (1985), and Winter (2009). In line with our expectations, married men had on average a 1.125 higher HISCAM score than the reference category of singles. Widowed and

divorced men had, on average, a higher HISCAM score than natives, but the effect was smaller than for married men: 0.632 points for widowed men and 0.392 for divorced men. Next, men who were born in a city had, on average, a 4.949 higher HISCAM score than men who were born in a city. This effect is strong, highly significant and in line with our expectations. As calendar time passed, men generally reached a higher social position. For every decade after December 1865 men experienced, on average, an increase of 0.329 status points.

Model 3 includes an interaction between migration status and age, and an interaction between migration status and the squared age. The inclusion of these interactions strengthened the effect of the age term somewhat; the other variables were hardly affected by it. Only the interaction between migration status and age was significant. It suggests that for every additional year in age, the HISCAM score of migrant men grew 0.015 less than that of native men. This suggests that migrants not only generally reached lower positions, but that the difference in social status grew larger during their career.

Table 6.4 shows the results of the multilevel growth models on the individual cities. The organization of the models is the same as for the appended dataset, but without the variable city. Models 1, 2 and 3 refer to Antwerp; models 4, 5 and 6 to Rotterdam; and models 7, 8 and 9 to Stockholm. In all models the variation in HISCAM scores between individual men is much larger than within individual careers of men. The intercept is also significant in all models and the effect is highly similar for the three cities. This suggests that, in terms of labour market entrance, the three cities were rather similar. In model 1, age is highly significant. For every additional year of life the HISCAM score of men in Antwerp increased with 0.046 status points. In model 2, this effect becomes smaller and becomes insignificant. In that model, distance, birth place type and period are the only significant results we found. Every additional ten kilometres that men were born away from Antwerp was associated, on average, with a 0.538 higher HISCAM score. Men in Antwerp who were born in a city had, on average, a 1.898 higher HISCAM score than rural-born men. The inclusion of the interaction between migration status and age, and between age and age^2 hardly affected these previous results. Both interaction terms were insignificant. In model 4, we found a small effect of age, which was significant at 0.5% level: For every additional year in age, Rotterdam men reached a 0.04 point higher HISCAM score. With the inclusion of the other variables in model 5, this effect became even smaller and became insignificant. For Rotterdam, we found only significant effects on marital status. According to model 5, married men had, on average, a 0.612 higher HISCAM score than single men. Widowed men had, according to model 5, on average a 2.652 higher HISCAM score than

single men in Rotterdam. The fact that the effect was much stronger for widowed men than for married men runs against our expectations.

Table 6.3: Multilevel growth models of internal migrants and natives in all three cities, 1865-1930

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Intercept)		56.493 ***	53.613 ***	53.693 ***
		(0.258)	(0.274)	(0.275)
Age		0.153 ***	0.132 ***	0.143 ***
		(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.004)
City	*Antwerp*	ref.	ref.	ref.
	Rotterdam	0.496	-0.881 *	-0.846 *
		(0.436)	(0.420)	(0.420)
	Stockholm	-0.561 *	-0.221	-0.224
		(0.26)	(0.254)	(0.253)
Migration status			-0.961 ***	-1.065 ***
			(0.111)	(0.118)
Distance			0.097 ***	0.097 ***
			(0.002)	(0.002)
Age²			-0.004 ***	-0.004 ***
			(0.000)	(0.000)
Marital status	*Single*		ref.	ref.
	Married		1.125 ***	1.130 ***
			(0.039)	(0.039)
	Widowed		0.632 ***	0.635 ***
			(0.101)	(0.101)
	Divorced		0.392 *	0.394 *
			(0.184)	(0.184)
Birth place type	*Rural*		ref.	ref.
	Urban		4.949 ***	4.949 ***
			(0.087)	(0.087)
Period			0.329 ***	0.329 ***
			(0.019)	(0.019)
Migration status*age				-0.015 **
				(0.005)
Migration status*age²				0.000
				(0.000)
AIC		2392116018	2382285624	2382303326
BIC		2392202052	2382457692	2382496903
Log Likelihood		-1196050009	-1191126812	-1191133663
Number of observations		346032	346032	346032
Variance between individuals		109.294	101.795	101.749
Variance within individuals		0.075	0.072	0.072

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$

Table 6.4: Multilevel growth models of internal migrants and natives in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm 1865-1930

		Antwerp			Rotterdam			Stockholm		
		Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**	**Model 5**	**Model 6**	**Model 7**	**Model 8**	**Model 9**
(Intercept)		55.729 ***	53.274 ***	53.152 ***	55.811 ***	53.229 ***	53.020 ***	55.946 ***	53.493 ***	53.711 ***
		(0.216)	(0.639)	(0.643)	(0.354)	(1.631)	(1.635)	(0.033)	(0.139)	(0.143)
Age		0.046 ***	0.027	0.015	0.04 *	0.016	-0.003	0.157 ***	0.137 ***	0.159 ***
		(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.028)	(0.03)	0.002	(0.003)	(0.005)
Migration status	*Native*		ref.	ref.		ref.	ref.		ref.	ref.
	Migrant		-1.200	-0.856		0.089	0.564		-0.985 ***	-1.275 ***
			(0.719)	(0.746)		(1.111)	(1.145)		(0.114)	(0.122)
Distance			0.538 ***	0.534 ***		-0.069	-0.067		0.098 ***	0.098 ***
			(0.121)	(0.121)		(0.086)	(0.086)		(0.002)	(0.002)
Age²			-0.002	-0.001		0.000	0.000		-0.004 ***	-0.005 ***
			-0.001	-0.001		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)
Marital status	*Single*		ref.	ref.		ref.	ref.		ref.	ref.
	Married		0.127	0.133		0.612 ***	0.610 ***		1.148 ***	1.158 ***
			(0.287)	(0.287)		(0.117)	(0.117)		-0.041	-0.041
	Widowed		0.013	0.023		2.652 ***	2.648 ***		0.572 ***	0.578 ***
			(0.708)	(0.709)		(0.301)	(0.301)		(0.105)	(0.105)
	Divorced		-0.702	-0.739		0.774	0.764		0.376 *	0.376 *
			(1896)	(1897)		(0.492)	(0.493)		(0.19)	(0.19)
Birth place type	*Rural*		ref.	ref.		ref.	ref.		ref.	ref.
	Urban		1.898 ***	1.902 ***		2.151	2.198		5.008 ***	5.005 ***
			(0.479)	(0.479)		(1155)	(1155)		(0.089)	(0.089)
Period			0.594 ***	0.592 ***		0.077	0.082		-0.332 ***	0.332 ***
			(0.115)	(0.115)		(0.223)	(0.223)		(0.019)	(0.019)
Migration status*age				0.046			0.065			-0.03 ***
				(0.033)			(0.039)			(0.005)
Migration status*age²				-0.003			0.000			0.001 ***
				(0.002)			(0.001)			(0.000)
AIC		43154483	43118540	43135613	55587309	55530366	55548431	2284498860	2274576161	2274558126
BIC		43195065	43213233	43243833	55631375	55633186	55665940	2284563068	2274725981	2274729348
Log Likelihood		-21571241	-21545270	-21551807	-27787655	-27751183	-27758216	-1142243430	-1137274081	-1137263063
Number of observations		6398	6398	6398	11433	11433	11433	328201	328201	328201
Between individuals		64.140	61.766	61.832	89.630	89.774	89.829	109.502	101.800	101.702
Within individuals		0.03	0.028	0.029	0.161	0.164	0.164	0.071	0.068	0.068

***p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05

Model 7 indicates that the HISCAM score of men in Stockholm grew with 0.157 points for every additional year in age. This effect remained significant when the other variables were added in model 8, but became a bit weaker. According to model 8, migrant men in Stockholm had, on average, a 0.985 lower HISCAM score than native men. For every additional ten kilometres in distance between the birth place and Stockholm the average HISCAM score was 0.098 points higher. A small effect was found for the squared age term, suggesting that towards the end of the career the increase in social status slowed down slightly. Migrant men had, on average, a 0.985 lower HISCAM score than natives. On average, married men had a 1.48 higher HISCAM score than single men. Widowed men had, on average, a 0.572 higher HISCAM score than single men and divorced men had, on average, a 0.376 higher HISCAM score than single men. Being born in a city was associated with a 5.008 higher HISCAM score, compared to being born in the countryside. For every additional decade from December 1865 on, men reached a 0.032 points lower HISCAM score. This shows that industrialization decreased the chances for upward mobility, at least in this early phase when industrialization was coupled with a process of deskilling (cf. Tomka 2013). The inclusion of the interaction terms in model 9 strengthened the effects of age and migration status. The interaction between migration status and age shows that the social status of migrants grew slower over time than that of natives. The interaction between migration status and age^2 indicates that the growth in social status of migrant men slowed down slightly faster than that of natives.

6.5 Conclusion and discussion

In this chapter we studied the labour market inclusion process of male migrants with the help of occupational titles, which were coded in HISCO and recoded into HISCAM, a social stratification system for Western European countries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The occupational titles originate from population registers and in the case of Antwerp and Rotterdam also from marriage, birth and death certificates. All real occupational titles of natives and migrants that were provided with a HISCO code in the Antwerp COR* database, the Historical Sample of the Netherlands and the retrievals from the Stockholm Historical Database, were gathered for the ages from 15 to 50, roughly covering the professional career of men in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Europe. We decided to exclude females from the analysis, as females occupations were less well registered in the original sources and therefore less well covered by the data. Moreover, female careers usually ended upon marriage. By organizing average HISCAM scores by age, migration status and age at in-migration we were able to ‘reconstruct’ the careers of natives and internal and international male migrants,

and to compare them with each other. International migrants were only included for Antwerp and Stockholm, due to sample constraints regarding the Rotterdam data. International migrants in Antwerp and Rotterdam were highly successful in the labour market. In Antwerp, immigrants generally had a higher HISCAM score than natives for all age categories. The same was true for Stockholm except for the age category 45-49. In Antwerp, the position of immigrants vis-à-vis natives was more favourable than in Stockholm. This is in line with studies of Greta Devos and Hilde Greefs (Greefs 1988a; 1998b; Devos & Greefs 2000), who underlined the favourable business climate for immigrants in the early and the middle of the nineteenth century. The fact that Antwerp's port had been closed for several centuries, and that the native elite lacked experience in maritime trade, created a niche for international businessmen with experience in maritime trade and an international network. Obviously, these favourable conditions remained during the latter half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Stockholm's industrial development was highly dependent on foreign engineers; but, thanks to its capital position, Stockholm also offered jobs for higher educated staff and diplomats (Grönberg 2003). Both in Antwerp and Stockholm immigrants had disproportionate amounts of human capital at their availability and their move was a reaction to a specific demand that could neither be met by natives, nor by internal migrants.

The labour market inclusion process of internal migrants was quite different from that of international migrants and there were considerable differences between Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm observable. In all three cities internal migrants entered the labour market at lower position than natives, except for those who moved between the ages of 25 and 35 to Antwerp. Between the ages of 25 and 50 internal migrants in Antwerp generally had jobs with higher social positions than natives. Additional analysis showed that internal migrants who arrived between their fifteenth and twenty-fifth birthday in Antwerp moved quickly up the social ladder, closing the gap with the natives within a limited number of years, and, from the age category 25-29 on, these early birds out-performed natives for the rest of their career.

In Rotterdam, natives generally occupied higher social positions than internal migrants, except towards the end of their professional career. Internal migrants who arrived between their fifteenth and twentieth birthday entered the labour market at a slightly lower position than natives, but they initially experienced downward mobility. During their thirties, the tide turned and they started to move up the social ladder and during their forties they reached higher social positions than natives.

The picture for Stockholm was very different from that of the port cities in the Low Countries. For all age categories internal migrants had much lower social positions compared

to natives. Internal migrants who moved between their fifteenth and twentieth birthday to Rotterdam were able to move up the social ladder, but natives did so too. During the latter part of their career, natives continued to move up the social ladder, whereas the social status of the group of internal migrants flattened and they eventually even experienced a decrease in occupational status. Consequently, the gap between natives and internal migrants in Stockholm grew ever larger during the latter part of their career. We can therefore only conclude that the social inclusion process of internal migrants in the Swedish capital was strongly hampered.

The multilevel growth models on natives and internal migrants showed a positive relationship between migration distance and occupational status. This result is in line with *Annales* inspired studies, which underline that long-distance migrants generally had more human capital than short distance migrants, and because long distance migrants moved within well-defined social networks (Sewell 1985; Greefs 1998b; Lucassen 2004). Next, we found that urban-to-urban migrants reached higher social positions than rural-to-urban migrants. This result was in line with our expectations, as we expected that the transition from one urban labour market to another urban labour market was easier than the transition from a rural to an urban labour market. This finding confirms studies by the Chicago School of Sociology and their later adherents (e.g. Handlin 1951; Bouman & Bouman 1955), who underlined that especially rural-to-urban migrants ended up in trouble upon arrival in the city.

The observed differences in the labour market inclusion process between Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm confirms Anne Winter's (2009) hypotheses that the social inclusion process of 'uprooted' peasants was easier in port cities compared to industrial cities, thanks to the large demand for low educated and low skilled labourers in ports. In industrial cities, social mobility was higher than in port cities, but natives managed to reserve the best jobs for themselves, while migrants clustered in jobs with a lower social status.

The stayer/mover issue remains partially unanswered. In Antwerp and Rotterdam, the group of stayers among the internal migrants who arrived young was successful in terms of labour market inclusion, but this result cannot simply be extrapolated to other cities and other migrant groups. In Stockholm, a comparable group of internal migrants who arrived young and stayed permanently in the city faced social exclusion in the labour market. What happened to the movers remains uncertain, but it is clear that people who moved over longer distances, and especially those who crossed national borders, were highly successful migrants. They purposefully moved to places where there was a demand for specific labour market skills that could not be met by the local population. In that sense, long-distance migrants created their own success. The picture was quite different for short-distance migrants who had limited human

capital and who were often reluctant to move, and only left their village of birth as they were unable to make a living there.

7 Disfavoured in life, favoured in death?

Mortality differences between migrants and natives

This chapter draws in part upon the following conference papers:

Puschmann, P., Donrovich, R., Grönberg, P., Dekeyser, G & K. Matthijs (2014). Revisiting the Urban Graveyard Debate: An Analysis of Mortality Differences between Migrants and Natives in North-Western European Port Cities: Antwerp, Rotterdam & Stockholm, 1850-1930. *Paper* presented at the Conference of the European Society of Historical Demography (ESHD). Alghero, Italy, 25-27 September 2014.

Puschmann, P., Donrovich, R., Dekeyser, G. & K. Matthijs. (2013). Migration and Urban Graveyards. Comparing Mortality Risks between Urban In-Migrants and Natives in a Western European Port City: The Case of Antwerp, 1846-1920. *Paper* presented at the IUSSP International Population Conference. Busan, Republic of Korea, 26-31 August 2013.

7.1 Introduction

Demographic and epidemiological research has found ample evidence of a so-called 'healthy migrant effect' in contemporary Western populations, referring to a situation in which migrants have a better health status, higher life expectancy and significantly lower mortality risks compared to the native population. The phenomenon was discovered during the 1980s in the United States and was initially referred to as an *epidemiological paradox*, as the results were rather counterintuitive. It turned out that Hispanic migrants in the US have lower mortality risks than US-born residents, although they originate from countries with lower living standards and higher mortality rates. At the same time, their socioeconomic position and level of instruction are lower than that of US-born residents, and their access to health services is limited (Markides & Coreil 1986). Later research confirmed that first generation Latin American immigrants in the United States have lower overall mortality risks compared to the non-Hispanic White American population (Markides & Eschbach 2005; Lariscy et al. 2015). Comparable results were also found for Mediterranean migrants in Europe (Khlat & Courbage 1996; Razum et al. 1998).

While for contemporary Western populations mortality differences between migrants and natives have been studied extensively, for historical populations this topic has only occasionally been addressed (see e.g. Alter & Oris 2005; Kesztenbaum & Rosenthal 2010). We set out to study mortality differences between migrants and natives in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. We highlight three main reasons why this is an interesting comparison. Firstly, evidence of a healthy migrant effect in the past suggests that the effect is more universal: existing in different societies, among various groups of migrants, and under different mortality regimes with dissimilar death rates and distinct causes of death structures. Secondly, studying mortality differences between migrants and natives can lead to a better insight into the relationship between the early life conditions and later life mortality, as migrants grew up in a different environment than native urban residents. The third advantage of studying differences in adult mortality among migrants and natives is the fact that mortality differences can provide insight into social health inequalities and therefore can help identify social exclusion among migrants. After all, if excess mortality among natives is to be expected, an opposite pattern suggests that (certain groups of) migrants faced severe discrimination in the receiving society. Such discrimination could have led to a situation in which migrants had less access to basic facilities like clean drinking water, sanitation, nutrition, and healthcare services (including vaccination programmes) or that they had to take on risky and badly paid jobs (Lee 1999). Social exclusion is also believed to have

contributed to migrants being more prone to risky behaviours, including heavy drinking, unsafe sexual activity and crime (Moch 2003).

In this chapter, we study differences in adult mortality (ages 30+) between natives and internal and international migrants in three different Northwestern European cities in the period 1850-1930 with the help of event history techniques. The latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century is an interesting time frame to study differences in adult mortality between migrants and natives, as this period covers all three phases of the epidemiological transition: (1) the *age of pestilence*; (2) the *age of receding pandemics*; and (3) *the age of degenerative and man-made diseases* (Omran 1971). This enables us to investigate whether or not healthy migrant effects existed during all three phases of the epidemiological transition.

Comparing mortality differences between migrants, internal and international migrants is innovative as most studies have either compared mortality differences of natives and international migrants or they have compared internal migrants with natives (Wingate & Alexander 2006). The comparison between the three different cities is interesting, because Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm attracted different groups of migrants, were characterized by different levels of societal openness, and offered dissimilar opportunity structures to newcomers. We believe that this led to different paths of social inclusion and different risk of social exclusion. As we have seen in the previous chapters, many migrant groups were disfavoured in life. In this chapter we will investigate whether they were favoured in death, by comparing their mortality risks with those of the native population.

7.2 Theoretical framework and empirical evidence

7.2.1 The healthy migrant effect versus the salmon bias hypothesis

Many studies on Western populations report that migrants have a better health status, lower mortality risks and higher life expectancy than the native population. Even infants born to migrant women enjoy health advantages compared to infants from native women (Wingate & Alexander 2006). Healthy migrant theory departs from the idea of a positive selection effect. It is argued that people who are healthy are more able and more likely to move than the sick, unhealthy and disabled and that the healthiest persons move over the longest distances. The process of moving over long distances requires physical capability, while adapting to both a foreign language and a different culture and lifestyle demands good mental health, as these processes are known to cause mental stress (Fu & VanLandingham 2012). At the same time, labour migrants often take on physically demanding jobs. Less healthy persons might be less

suited and less willing to take up such challenges (Lu & Qin 2014). With regard to nineteenth-century Eastern Belgium, Alter, Oris and Broström (2001) found evidence of such a selection mechanism. For the village of Sart, they observed that individuals from families that experienced death among their members were less likely to leave the village than individuals from families without such bereavements.

Several studies have argued that differences in health and mortality between migrants and natives result (at least partially) from differences in lifestyle (Abraído-Lanza et al. 1999; Khlat & Darmon 2003; Lariscy et al. 2015). Evidence has been found that migrants live healthier lives and exhibit more health-protective behaviours. First-generation migrants from Latin American countries in the US are, for instance, less likely to smoke and drink alcohol than US-born residents. However, the more migrants adapt to US society, the higher the risk that they start to consume cigarettes and alcohol (Abraido-Lanza et al. 2005). This might explain why, in certain studies, it has been observed that the healthy migrant effect diminishes or disappears as migrants reside longer in the host society (Abraído-Lanza et al. 2006). However, in the case of nineteenth-century cities, the waning health advantage might have been, rather, a result of the dramatic urban living environment. Kesztenbaum & Rosenthal (2010) found that the health advantage that rural-to-urban migrants had upon arrival in late nineteenth-century French cities faded away after having lived for some years in a city. They explain this by referring to the bad sanitation in the urban world at the time. Oris and Alter (2001) found comparable results for Belgian cities in the nineteenth century and came to similar conclusions.

Certain studies have suggested that differences in mortality risks between migrants and natives result from differences in early life conditions (Alter & Oris, 2005; Bengtsson & Mineau 2009; Smith et al. 2009). The so-called *life course trajectory model* proposes that early life circumstances are linked to later life outcomes through accumulated experiences during one's life course (Goldman 2001). From this perspective, nutrition, vaccination, household composition and household resources during childhood might affect later life morbidity and mortality. For our purposes, the early life model is especially interesting with respect to the environment in which individuals grew up, since urban mortality rates exceeded rural mortality rates during the age of pestilence. High urban mortality was a consequence of high population pressure, poor sanitation, and - during industrialization - pollution. For nineteenth-century Belgium, Alter & Oris (2005) found that rural-to-urban migrants experienced lower post-reproductive mortality rates, even if their move to the city had taken place more than ten years earlier. They explain this by the fact that these migrants had grown up in a healthier environment and had experienced less disease in childhood. However, at the same time, this made these

migrants more susceptible to epidemic diseases, since rural-to-urban migrants had been less exposed to such diseases earlier in the life course, and accordingly, they were less often immune to epidemics. That was the reasoning Alter and Oris (2005) used to explain why the healthy migrant effect was weaker during years of epidemic outbreaks.

Some scholars have presumed that lower mortality risks among migrants are only a statistical artefact, resulting from the under-reporting of deaths among migrant populations and/or selective out-migration of unhealthy and diseased people. This hypothesis is called *salmon bias* and refers to a situation in which migrants' death rates are artificially lowered. This happens if migrants return home before they die. In such a situation, the deaths of migrants do not contribute to the national death statistics of the country of study. Consequently, they become *statistically immortal* (Abraido-Lanza et al. 1999). Some studies indeed find evidence of a salmon bias effect, but the effect is usually too small to account for the observed differences in mortality risks between migrants and natives, meaning that at least part of the observed health advantage of migrants is real and not merely a statistical artefact (e.g. Razum et al. 2000).

7.2.2 Social exclusion and excess mortality among migrants

Mortality differences between different ethnic and racial groups in society reveal important social inequalities in life chances and health that go beyond differences in economic performance and are often related to severe discrimination and exclusion (Sen 1998; Nazroo 2003). This is, for example, true for disparities in death rates between blacks and whites in the US. Although the majority of these disparities are due to differences in socioeconomic status (which are at least partially a result of discrimination in the labour market), there is an important racial gradient: Even if blacks and whites earn the same amount of money, blacks still have higher mortality risks than whites (Sorlie et al. 1992). Segregation plays an important role in this respect, since blacks pay a price for ending up in economically deprived neighbourhoods (Guest et al. 1998). In this respect, Sen (1998) came to remarkable conclusions when he compared the survival rates of black men and women from Harlem (an African American neighbourhood in New York City with high poverty and crime rates) with those of men and women from developing countries with much higher mortality rates at the country level and lower GDP per capita. It turned out that the black men and women from Harlem have lower survival rates than the men and women from China and Kerala (India), and that black men from Harlem had even higher mortality rates after their fortieth birthday than Bangladeshi men who were facing starvation.

Differences in mortality can tell us about health inequalities with regard to sex, social class, race, religion, but also with respect to migration status. Scholars have indeed pointed out the relevance of mortality figures with respect to studies on social inclusion and exclusion of migrants (e.g. Berman & Phillips 2000; Marmot 2005), but hardly any empirical studies have been carried out in which mortality is used as an indicator of social inclusion or exclusion among migrants. This might be related to the fact that studies on social inclusion usually start from identifying a certain kind of disadvantage or deficiency among a migrant population in comparison to the native population, for example, in terms of educational attainment, language proficiency, average income, level of employment, membership of associations, share of voters, etc. After the deficiency is identified, it is studied whether this disadvantage attenuates over the life course and over generations. If this is the case, it can be concluded that social inclusion was successful, as major disadvantages among migrants have faded away and migrants have started to perform as well as (or even better) than the natives.

If we take mortality as an indicator of social inclusion and exclusion of migrants, we need to take another approach, since studies on the healthy migrant effect show that, with respect to mortality, migrants already have an advantage compared to the native population. Moreover, adaptation might even worsen the health situation of the migrants (Abraido-Lanza et al. 2005). Accordingly, a study on social inclusion and exclusion on the basis of mortality data does not depart from a situation in which a migrant group as a whole faces some kind of disadvantage over natives, which fades away as inclusion proceeds. Rather, we start with a situation in which excess mortality among natives is the norm. This is interesting because every situation in which a migrant group experiences higher mortality than natives asks for explanations. In this respect, we follow a similar line of thought as can be found in the, by now, well-established literature concerning excess female mortality (Coale & Banister 1994; Das Gupta 1987). Under equal access to nutrition and healthcare, women have lower mortality risks than men in all age categories (Cohen 2000). Consequently, in situations in which excess female mortality exists, women face severe discrimination. This can be in the form of limited access to food and healthcare, but can also be a consequence of neglect, violence or female infanticide. Accordingly, we reason that since migrants under normal circumstances enjoy higher life expectancy and lower mortality risks than natives, excess mortality among migrants is a sign of vast inequalities between migrants and natives. Excess mortality among migrants indicates social exclusion in core domains of society, which is of such a severe nature that it turns the 'natural' health advantage of being a migrant into a health disadvantage.

Evidence has been found that certain categories of migrants who were badly integrated in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century labour market experienced higher mortality risks than natives, probably because they ended up more often in unhealthy and dangerous jobs (Lee & Marschalck 2002; Oris & Alter 2001). Scholars of the Chicago School of Sociology (e.g. Park 1928), as well as some of their followers (Handlin 1955; Bouman & Bouman 1955; Chevalier 1973; Lis 1986), have stated that migrants, given their marginal position in the receiving society, were prone to risky behaviour, like heavy drinking, crime and, in the case of women, out of wedlock sexuality, including prostitution (Moch 2003). Migrants were even believed to have faced higher risks of suicide, partially caused by problems of adaptation, social deprivation and the resulting misery from living in poor neighbourhoods. Poverty was a challenge to many of the urban newcomers. Due to their marginal positon in the labour market, migrants faced hunger and ended up in overcrowded dwellings, lacking basic sanitation. Scholars of the Chicago School of Sociology have always emphasized that the social inclusion processes of migrants were hampered by the fact that migrants lacked a (much needed) social network.

7.3 Research objectives and expectations

The first objective of this chapter is to evaluate whether healthy migrant effects existed in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm in the period 1850-1930, whether this effect was found for both domestic and international migrants and whether this was the case during all three phases of the epidemiological transition. If healthy migrant effects are found, the underlying causes will be examined. We will address selection effects, as well as the early life environment. With regard to selection effects, the relationship between migration distance and mortality is being examined. We expect that a negative linear relationship existed between both variables as a result of a positive selection effect: The further the migrants moved, the lower their mortality risks were. The basic underlying idea is that moving over longer distances requires more physical and mental strength than moving over shorter distances. At the same time, moving over larger distances requires financial means and information about the city of destination, which suggests that long-distance migrants are also positively selected in terms of educational profile and socioeconomic status. Likewise, they might have moved more often within a network (Greefs 1998; Sewell 1985).

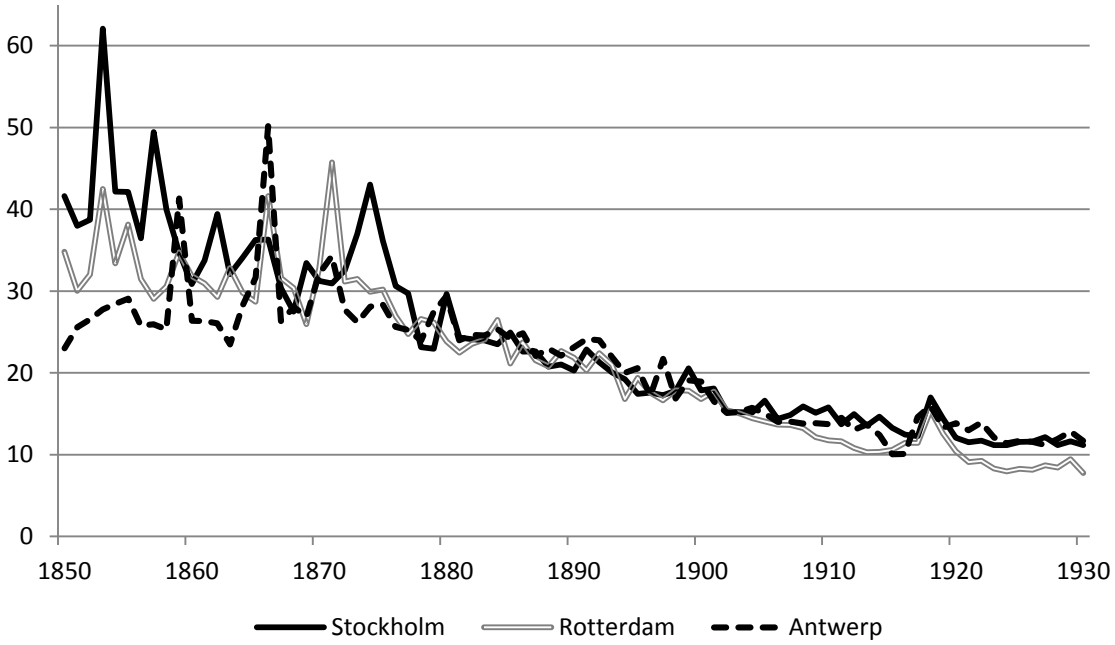
Next, the role of the early life environment will be addressed. We will examine whether rural-to-urban migrants had lower mortality risks compared to research persons who were born in a city. We expect this to be the case since the countryside was a healthier environment than the city, at least until major infrastructural works were completed (not before the latter quarter of the nineteenth century). Consequently, migrants who grew up in a rural environment (during the early period of study) experienced, on average, less disease in childhood, which is believed to have resulted in higher survival rates in later life. However, at the same time, rural-to-urban migrants are believed to have been more susceptible to epidemic diseases, as they had less opportunity to become immune during childhood. Following the argumentation of Alter and Oris (2005), we expect rural-to-urban migrants to have had higher mortality risks during major epidemic outbreaks which, at the same time, would have weakened the healthy migrant effect during epidemic years or even make it disappear entirely. For the same reason, we expect the healthy migrant effect to have been strongest during the third phase of the epidemiological transition when epidemics were no longer a major cause of death. Finally, we expect a stronger healthy migrant effect among migrants who moved at a later stage in their life (after the age of 25), since they were exposed to the unhealthy environment of the city for a shorter period of time. At the same time, the fact that they were still able to move at a later age suggests that they were particularly healthy (positive selection effect).

Finally, it is being investigated whether certain groups of migrants were confronted with such a far-reaching form of social exclusion that their health advantage was reversed into a health disadvantage. We are going to test several interactions to see if we can identify certain (sub-) groups of migrants with excess mortality. In order to get a better idea about the level of social inclusion, we will also compare the different effects of misfortune on the life of migrants and natives. We expect that migrants would be hit harder by setbacks in life than natives, since the former more often lacked a (larger) social network of family and friends in the city of settlement who could assist them and take care of them. In order to test this, we look at the effect of becoming widowed or divorced. It is expected that the loss of a partner has a more dramatic effect on the mortality risk of migrants than on that of natives, because of the supposed lack of a social network. In addition, migrants might have had worse chances of receiving assistance from the authorities, especially for non-nationals, and their chances of re-partnering were mostly likely also lower.

7.4 Mortality development in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm

Mortality developed in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm in a similar way (see graph 7.1). In the middle of the nineteenth century the crude mortality rates still had high peaks in certain years due to major epidemics. From about 1880 on, mortality rates became more stable as the frequency and effects of epidemics diminished. From about 1910 on, mortality decline slowed down. The 1918 Spanish Flu pandemic is the last observed major epidemic outbreak.

Graph 7.1: Crude death rates in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm, 1850-1930

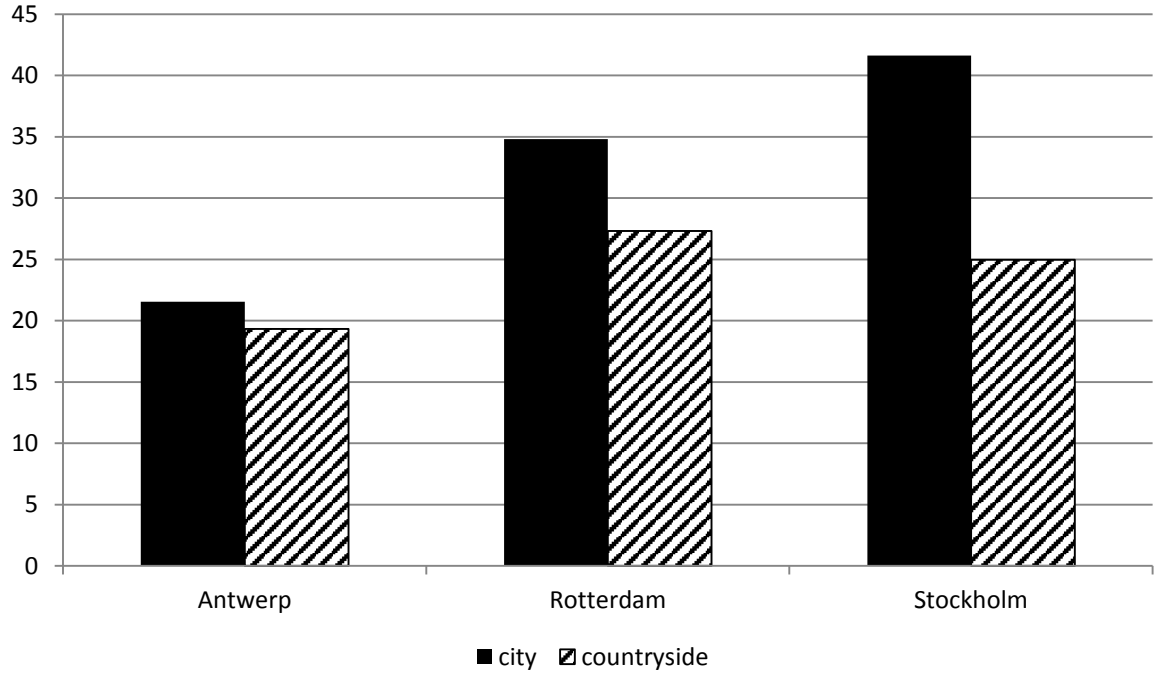


Source: Antwerp (1850-1880: Kruithof 1964; 1880-1930 LOKSTAT); Rotterdam: Historical Database of Dutch Municipalities; Stockholm: Statistical Yearbooks of Stockholm.

In 1850, the environments in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm were still very unhealthy, in the sense that urban mortality exceeded mortality levels in the surrounding countryside (see graph. 7.2). While the rural-urban divide in Antwerp was relatively small, in Rotterdam and especially in Stockholm it was large. The most logical explanation for this divide is related to differences in population density and sanitation. However, differences in industrialization might play a role too, since industry caused severe air and water pollution (Stradling & Thorsheim 1999; Mosley 2001). Antwerp, which in 1850 had the lowest crude death rate and the smallest rural-urban divide, lacked major industries, while Rotterdam and especially Stockholm were gradually turning into industrial hot spots. Since the urban-rural divide was smaller in Antwerp, we expect the healthy migrant effect to have been less pronounced in the

Belgian port city compared to Rotterdam and Stockholm given that differences in the early life environment between migrants and natives seem to have been rather modest.

Graph 7.2: Crude death rates in the city and the surrounding rural environment, 1850*



Source: Antwerp: LOKSTAT, Rotterdam: Historical Database of Dutch Municipalities; Stockholm: Tabell-Commis sionens Underdåniga femårsberättelse till Kongl. Maj:t om Folkmängden i Sverige vid slutet af år 1850 samt Födde, Döde, Vigde m.m. i riket åren 1846-1850, med tillhörande bilagor och 53 tabeller, afgifven d. 20 April 1854 (Stockholm: Norstedts 1854), Bilaga Litt. A.

*countryside includes, in the case of Antwerp, all rural municipalities of the Antwerp district; in the case of Rotterdam it includes all rural municipalities of the province of Zuid-Holland; and in the case of Stockholm the countryside is represented by all parishes from Stockholm county.

7.5 Data and methodology

The data was retrieved from the Antwerp COR*-database, the Stockholm Historical Database and the Historical Sample of the Netherlands. For the latter database we also made use of the DVI sub-samples of Germans, Italians and Italian-speaking Swiss migrants in Rotterdam in order to include the life course information of international migrants as well. We constructed one individual longitudinal dataset for each city with all relevant life course information (birth date, thirtieth birthday, in- and out-migration, end of registration and death date) and covariates. Subsequently, we appended all three datasets through which we obtained a fourth combined dataset.

7.5.1 Variables

Sex is coded as men and women. *Birth year* is included as a continuous variable. *City* is a categorical variable distinguishing between research persons who lived in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm in the appended dataset (not included in the individual analyses). *Migration status* separates the research population into natives, domestic migrants and international migrants, based on their birth place. Research persons who were born in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm were treated as natives; persons who were born elsewhere in, respectively, Belgium, the Netherlands and Sweden were treated as domestic migrants, while research persons who were born outside of the national borders were coded as international migrants. *Birth place* distinguishes between research persons who were born in the countryside and research persons who were born in a city, and a remaining group (unknown) of which we do not know in which place they were born. *Distance from birth place (in kilometres)* is operationalized as a categorical variable distinguishing between research persons who were born <50 km, 50-100 km, 100-250 km and >250 km away from the city in which they settled and an unknown category. The categorical variable *age at arrival* is comprised of three categories: <15, 15-24, 25+ and an unknown category. *Civil status* is included as a time-varying variable and was grouped into four categories: unmarried, married, separated/widowed and unknown. *Occupation* is based on the HISCO-codification and categorized into four groups: professionals, foreman and skilled, day labourers and unskilled and an unknown category if we did not have an occupational title. The time-constant variable occupation represents the research person's job category/position closest to age 30, in the case of in-migration after age 30 it represents the earliest registered occupation entered into the register. All occupational codes were coded into HISCO (Van Leeuwen et al. 2002) and recoded into HISCLASS (Van Leeuwen & Maas 2011), a social class scheme taking several dimensions (manual versus non-manual labour, skill level, supervision, etc.) of the labour associated with the occupation into account. The twelve major groups were reorganized into four categories: (1) Professionals; (2) Foremen and Skilled; (3) Day Labourers and Unskilled; and (4) Unknown.

7.5.2 Descriptive statistics

An overview of the descriptive statistics by variable and category is provided in Table 7.1. In Antwerp we have more men (65%) than women (35%) in the sample. The same is true for Rotterdam, although the difference is smaller: 54% men versus 46% women. The opposite is

Table 7.1. Descriptive statistics for Antwerp, Stockholm, and Rotterdam*

		Antwerp			Stockholm			Rotterdam		
		Cases	**%**	**Deaths**	**Cases**	**%**	**Deaths**	**Cases**	**%**	**Deaths**
Sex	Women	4734	34,6	541	127.988	56,6	12.998	885	46,4	254
	Men	8.940	65,4	1.267	98.120	43,4	14.953	1.022	53,6	319
Birth Year	*Continuous*	1800-1890; mean: 1850			1785-1896; mean: 1858			1802-1910; mean:1866		
Migration Status	Native	6.555	47,9	882	48.338	21,4	7.145	742	38,9	203
	internal migrant	5.335	39,0	718	171.749	76,0	20.216	609	31,9	66
	International migrant	1.625	11,9	192	6.021	2,6	590	556	29,2	304
	Unknown	159	1,2	16						
Urban/rural Birthplace	Rural	5.818	42,5	794	140.781	62,3	16.093	818	42,9	250
	Urban	7.572	55,3	978	76.938	34,0	10.499	1069	56,1	313
	Unknown	284	2,0	36	8.389	3,7	1.359	20	1,1	10
Distance from Birthplace	Natives	6.555	47,9	882	48.338	21,4	7.145	742	38,9	203
	<50 km	3.618	26,5	508	20.673	9,1	2.424	433	22,7	102
	50-100 km	1.533	11,2	196	24.585	10,9	2.912	414	21,7	144
	100-250 km	829	6,1	97	55.646	24,6	6.407	185	9,7	61
	250+ km	349	2,6	31	66.618	29,5	7.461	108	5,7	52
	Unknown	790	5,8	94	10.248	4,5	1.602	25	1,3	11
Age at arrival	<15	467	3,4	40	3.669	1,6	220	208	10,9	60
	15-24	980	7,2	89	20.606	9,1	1.703	499	26,2	193
	25+	3.148	23,0	343	47.344	20,9	5.695	145	7,6	48
	Unknown	2.524	18,5	454	106.151	46,9	13.188	313	16,4	69
	Natives	6.555	47,9	882	48.338	21,4	7.145	742	38,9	203
Civil status	Unmarried	645	4,7	150	80.404	35,6	7.468	343	18	47
	Married	5.800	42,2	1.132	103.436	45,8	15.441	1.018	53,4	344
	Separated / Widowed	1.521	11,1	416	12.742	5,6	2.642	385	20,2	167
	Unknown	5.708	41,7	110	29.526	13,1	2.400	161	8,4	15
Occupation	Professionals	870	6,4	45	10.947	4,8	984	495	26	132
	Foremen and skilled	1.144	8,4	92	31.077	13,7	2.893	782	41	262
	Day labourers and Unskilled	915	6,7	92	9.274	4,1	1.163	228	12	79
	Unknown	10.745	78,6	1.579	174.810	77,3	22.911	402	21,1	100
Totals		**13.674**	**100%**	**1808**	**226.108**	**100%**	**27.951**	**1.907**	**100%**	573

*% rounded

the case for Stockholm where women made up 57% of the sample and men 43%. For all three cities we observe more deaths for men than for women, even for Stockholm where we have more women in the sample. This suggests that men had higher mortality risks than women. For Antwerp the birth years of the research persons range between 1800 and 1890. For Stockholm the range is 1785-1896; and for Rotterdam: 1802-1910. In Antwerp natives were the largest category (48%), followed by domestic migrants (39%) and international migrants (12%). We do not know where 159 (1.2%) research persons were born. This group is ascribed to the 'unknown' category. In Stockholm the domestic migrants made up the largest category (76%), followed by natives (21%) and international migrants (3%). For Rotterdam the division is: 39% natives, 32% domestic migrants and 29% international migrants. The relative high number of deaths among international migrants is remarkable. In Antwerp and Stockholm urban-born dwellers made up the majority of the research population, respectively 55% and 56%. In Stockholm, rural-born dwellers were in the majority (62%). For Antwerp and Stockholm a majority of the migrants were born within a circle of hundred kilometres. The situation is quite different for Stockholm, where migrants who were born more than 250 kilometres away from the Swedish capital made up the largest category. In Antwerp and Rotterdam the majority of the migrants arrived for the first time after their twenty-fifth birthday. In Rotterdam the largest share arrived between their fifteenth and twenty-fifth birthday. In all three cities married persons made up the largest share of the research population. The large share of unmarried persons in Stockholm (36%) catches the eye and is in line with earlier observations in chapter 4. For Antwerp and Stockholm we do not know for the large majority of the research population (about three-quarters) which occupational group they belonged to. For Rotterdam this is only the case for a quarter of the research persons. In all three cities the foremen and skilled workers were the largest professional group, if we exclude the group of persons from the 'unknown' category.

The sample of Stockholm is much larger (N=226.108) than that of Antwerp (N=13.674 and Rotterdam (N= 573). For Rotterdam the sample is so small, because an overwhelming majority of the migrants and natives never entered the risk set, as they either had left the Dutch port city or had passed away before their thirtieth birthday.

7.5.2 Methodology

To get an initial idea about the differences in later life (age 30+) mortality between the different cities and according to the main variables in the analysis (sex, birth cohort, region of birth, migration status and age at immigration), we employed Kaplan-Meier survival curves (results available upon request). These are non-parametric estimates of the probability of surviving at time *t* (Cleves et al. 2008), which measure survival chances by each individual covariate at any moment during the analysis time, but do not allow us to control for other variables.

For the multivariate event history analysis, we turn to Gompertz proportional hazard models with baseline specified as age. Gompertz models are chosen as they fit adult mortality well, specifically for ages 30-90, and allow for either increasing or decreasing hazard rates over time (Cleves et al. 2008).

The Gompertz model is expressed as:

$$\boldsymbol{\mu(x) = \mu(x; a, b) = ae^{bx}}$$

The α designates the mortality level at the age at which the individual starts the risk set at x =0, while *b* captures the mortality increase as individuals grow older (Missov et al. 2015).

Our outcome variable is death at ages 30+ and relative risks were used to estimate the associations between our variables of interest and other explanatory variables. Time at risk begins at age 30 for natives and for migrants who arrived before their thirtieth birthday. For migrants who arrived at a later moment in the life course, the time at risk starts from the date of arrival at the destination. Censoring occurs if the individual left the area of observation or at the end of registration. Death is specified as the failure event. By right-censoring individuals who left the city, we reduce the risk of salmon bias to a minimum.

The original data of the three databases is stored in Microsoft Access Files. We extracted research persons who fit the study criteria for the three cities. We then 'reconstructed' life courses of migrants and natives, including the following events: thirtieth birthday, in-migration, out-migration, death and end of registration. This information was stored in a person period file including all time-constant covariates and the time-varying covariate civil status. The event history analyses were carried out in Stata 12.

First, we will present the results from the combined analyses on the appended dataset in order to get a (broad) overview of mortality differences in the three cities. Then, we will focus

more in depth on the three regions in individual analyses, in order to dig deeper into the context-specific mortality differences among natives and migrants in these three cities.

7.6 Results joint analysis Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm

7.6.1 Main effects

Table 7.2 shows results from three fully standardized Gompertz models using the appended dataset in which data on Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm were combined. Model I includes both sexes, model II only females and model III only males. The variable 'city' takes differences between Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm into account. All three models show a strong and significant healthy migrant effect. Both domestic and international migrants have lower mortality risks compared to natives; however, in all three models, the effect is stronger for international migrants than for domestic migrants and international migrant women benefit from the strongest healthy migrant effect. The strongest effect is observed for international migrant women (RR=.68) and the weakest effect was found for domestic migrant men (RR=.90).

There seems to be a negative linear relationship between distance from birth place and the risk of dying: The further migrants were born from the city they moved to, the lower their mortality risk was. This is at least true for the model for both sexes and for women separately. For men, the categories '<50' and '50-100' were not significant, but the effect sizes of these categories nevertheless point to a negative linear relationship.

We then move on to the early life environment. There is evidence of an urban penalty, as subjects who were born in a city had higher mortality risks than those who were born in the countryside. This result was found in the model for both sexes (5% higher risk), and for men (9% higher risk), but no significant difference was observed for women. Next, migrants who moved to Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm after the age of 24 had considerably lower mortality risks compared to migrants who migrated before their fifteenth birthday. This result appears in all three models (strongest effect for women: RR=.68) and shows once more that living in these three cities was unhealthy, and that some kind of urban penalty existed. However, at the same time, this result supports the idea of a positive selection effect, in the sense that those migrants who (still) moved after their twenty-fourth birthday were particularly healthy. No significant differences were found for the age category of 15-24.

Table 7.2 Relative mortality risks and standard errors for death at ages 30+, all cities (n=30 332)

		Model I both sexes		Model II women		Model III men	
		RR	**SE**	**RR**	**SE**	**RR**	**SE**
Sex	Women	(ref)					
	Men	1.70***	.02				
Birth year	*Continuous*	1.004***	.00	1.01***	.00	.99	.00
City	Antwerp	(ref)		(ref)		(ref)	
	Rotterdam	1.29***	.07	1.45***	.12	1.19*	.08
	Stockholm	1.09**	.02	1.12*	.05	1.08*	.03
Migration status	Native	(ref)		(ref)		(ref)	
	Domestic migrant	.88***	.02	.86**	.03	.90**	.03
	International migrant	.75***	.03	.68***	.04	.81***	.04
	Unknown	.49**	.12	.54	.27	.53*	.15
Urban/rural birthplace	Rural	(ref)		(ref)		(ref)	
	Urban	1.05**	.01	1.00	.02	1.09***	.02
	Unknown	1.24***	.07	1.27**	.11	1.23**	.09
Distance from birthplace	<50 km	(ref)		(ref)		(ref)	
	50-100 km	.95†	.02	.91*	.03	.98	.03
	100-250 km	.93**	.02	.90**	.02	.95	.02
	250+ km	.91***	.02	.89***	.02	.92*	.02
	Unknown	1.00	.05	1.06	.08	.95	.06
Age at arrival	<15	(ref)		(ref)		(ref)	
	15-24	.91	.06	.86	.08	.96	.08
	25+	.69***	.04	.68***	.06	.70***	.05
	Unknown	.67***	.08	.64***	.06	.71***	.05
Civil status	Unmarried	(ref)		(ref)		(ref)	
	Married	.99	.01	1.10***	.02	.88***	.01
	Divorced/ Widowed	1.16***	.01	1.31***	.03	.93†	.03
	Unknown	.19***	.00	.23***	.00	.15***	.00
Occupation	Professionals	(ref)		(ref)		(ref)	
	Foremen and skilled	1.10**	.04	.90	.07	1.17***	.04
	Day labourers and unskilled	1.24***	.05	1.13	.13	1.27***	.05
	Unknown	1.25***	.02	1.05	.08	1.29***	.04

Controlled for age

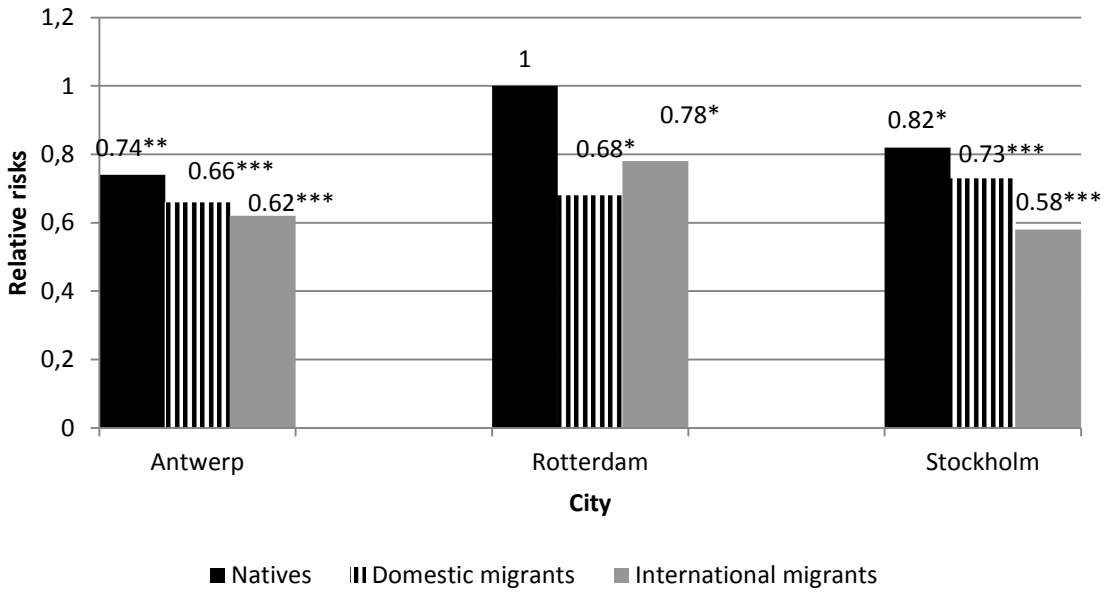
Exponentiated coefficients and standard errors
† p <0.10, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, * p < 0.001

There were also significant results for the other variables. Men had a 70% higher mortality risk than women. There was a slight positive effect for birth cohort in Model I (0.004%) and II (0.1%). For men (Model III), there was a negative relationship between birth cohort and mortality risk, but this effect was small (0.01%) and not significant. In Rotterdam, the risk of dying was considerably higher than in Antwerp. The difference was particularly high for women (45%), which might be related to child-bearing, as the fertility decline in the Netherlands started later than in most other European countries (Engelen & Hillebrand 1986). Married men had lower mortality risks (RR=.88) than single men, while the opposite was true for women (RR=1.1). Separated or widowed women had a 31% higher mortality risk than single women, while divorced/widowed men had lower mortality risk than single men (RR=.933) – of borderline significance at the 10% level. Finally, we found only significant results regarding occupational group for the men. As expected, the foremen and skilled men had a 17% higher mortality risk than the reference category of professionals. Casual workers and unskilled men had a 27% higher mortality risk than the professionals.

7.6.2 Interaction effects

In addition to the main effects, we have tested several interactions in order to further investigate mortality risks among different migrant groups. In order to evaluate whether the healthy migrant effect existed in all three cities for both domestic and international migrants, we ran the interaction between city and migration status. Next, we wanted to test whether positive selection effects operated similarly for men and women. We evaluate this by the interaction between sex and migration and sex and distance. The interaction between migration status and marital status was run in order to see whether migrants were more adversely affected by the loss of a partner than natives. Subsequently, we investigated whether the healthy migrant effect appeared in all three phases of the epidemiological transition, by testing an interaction between migration status and period. For that specific analysis we replaced the continuous variable 'birth year' by the categorical variable 'period', consisting of three periods, which correspond roughly to the three phases of the epidemiological transition, as distinguished by Omran (1971): 1800-1849; 1850-1909; and 1910-1930. Next, we ran the same interaction once with everybody who was born in the countryside and once with everybody who was born in a city, in order to see whether the effect of early life environment changed over time, when mortality differences between the rural-urban environment became smaller and finally disappeared or even reversed.

Graph 7.3: Relative mortality risks by city and migration status

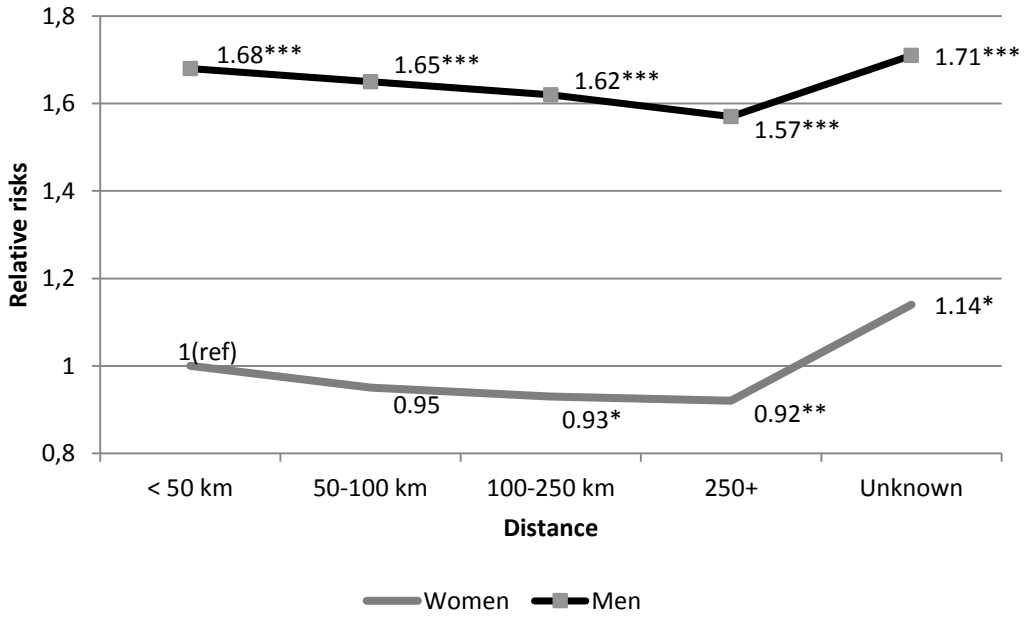


Standardized for age, sex, urban/rural birthplace, distance from birth place, birth year, age at arrival, marital status, and occupation
+ p < 0.10, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Graph 7.3 shows results from the interaction between city and migration status. This graph shows that the healthy migrant effect existed in all three cities, but that there were considerable differences in effect size between the cities and the migrant groups. In Rotterdam, the healthy migrant effect was stronger than in the other two cities. In Antwerp (RR=0.62) and Stockholm (RR=0.58) international migrants had a significantly lower mortality risk compared to the reference category of native Rotterdam dwellers. Domestic migrants in all three cities had a lower mortality risk than Rotterdam natives, but in Antwerp and Stockholm this effect was less strong than in Rotterdam. Moreover, for Rotterdam the healthy migrant effect was stronger for internal migrants (RR=0.68) compared to international migrants (RR=0.78).

Graph 7.4 displays findings from the interaction between sex and migration distance. Women who moved less than 50 kilometres are the reference category. Our hypothesis with respect to distance is being confirmed, as both male and female migrants' mortality decreased linearly as their distance to birth place increased. With the exception of women who had moved between 50 and 100 kilometres, findings for all other groups were significantly different from the reference category and all results fall in line with the linear trend of decreasing risks the further the migrant had moved. Given these results, one can assume that the healthy migrant effect is indeed a result of positive selection: The further migrants had travelled, the healthier they were.

Graph 7.4: Relative mortality risks by sex and distance

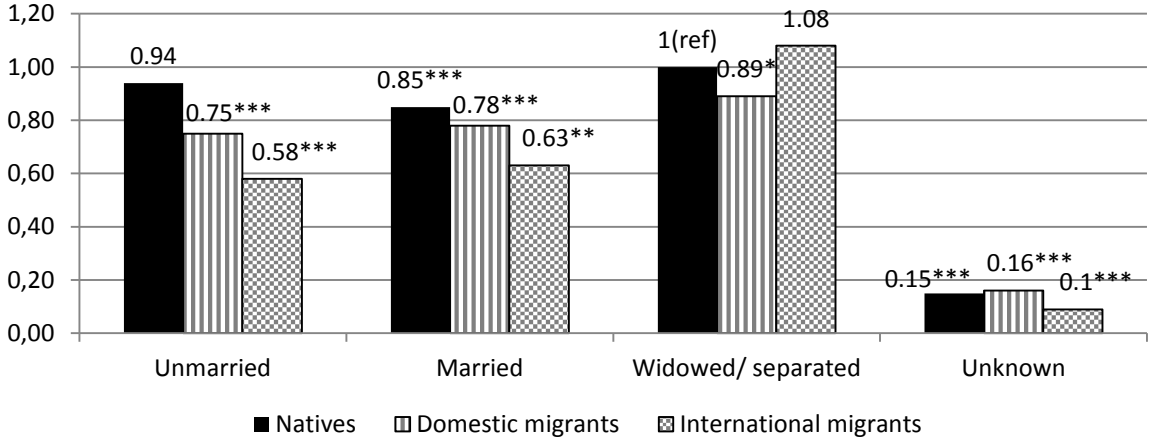


Standardized for age, urban/rural birthplace, birth cohort, age at arrival, marital status, and occupation
+ p < 0.10, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Graph 7.5 shows results from the interaction between migration status and marital status with natives who were widowed or separated as the reference category. Both being unmarried or married was associated with lower mortality risks for natives, as well as for domestic and international migrants. In the unmarried and the married categories, international migrants had lower mortality risks compared to the groups of widowed and separated natives. In line with our expectations, widowed/separated international migrants had a higher mortality risk compared to their native counterparts. While internationals were clearly adversely affected by marital disruptions (RR=1.08), they benefitted from being both married (RR=0.63) or unmarried (RR=0.58), suggesting a distinct healthy migrant effect. Although insignificant, it suggests that losing a partner had a bigger (negative) impact on international migrants. This could have been related to the fact that foreign migrants lacked a social network of friends and family who could help them in difficult times. In contrast, domestic migrants who were widowed or separated experienced lower mortality risk compared to natives from the same marital status group. This suggests that domestic migrants were less affected by the loss of a partner than international migrants. They might have had a larger social network on which they relied in times of misfortune. Friends and family might have offered them moral, financial and practical support. At the same time, it may have been easier for domestic migrants to receive

financial assistance from the municipality or the government, compared to international migrants who might not have been eligible for government support. Finally, the chances of remarrying for international migrants were probably very limited, as the access to the marriage market for single migrants was already considerably more difficult to obtain, as we have seen in chapter 4. This made it very likely for them that they would stay alone in the future.

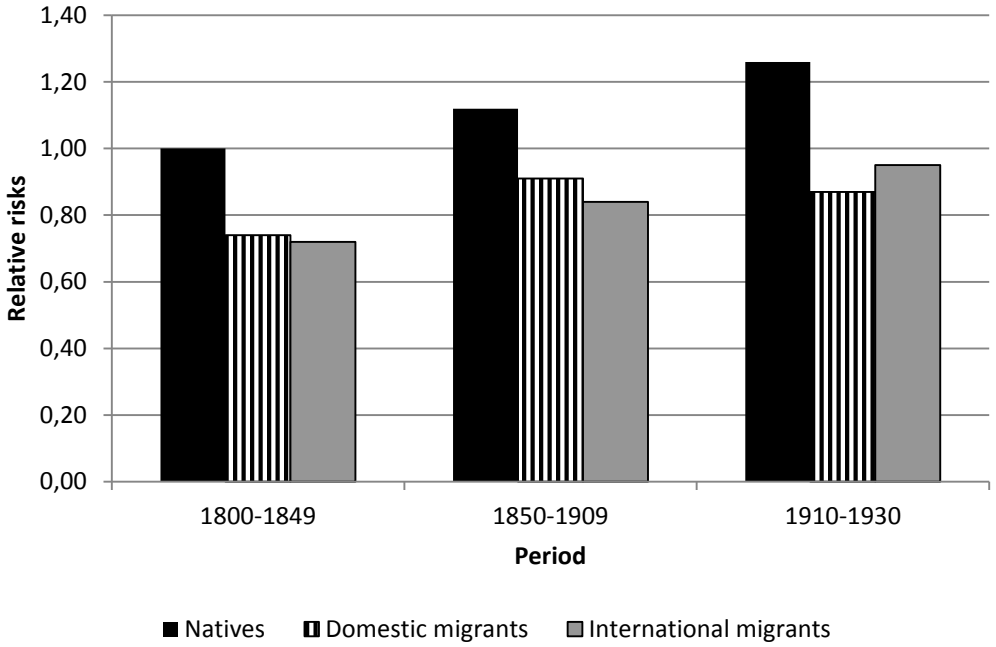
Graph 7.5: Relative mortality risks by migration status and marital status



* Standardized for age, city, urban/rural birthplace, distance from birth place, birth year, age at arrival and occupation
+ p < 0.10, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

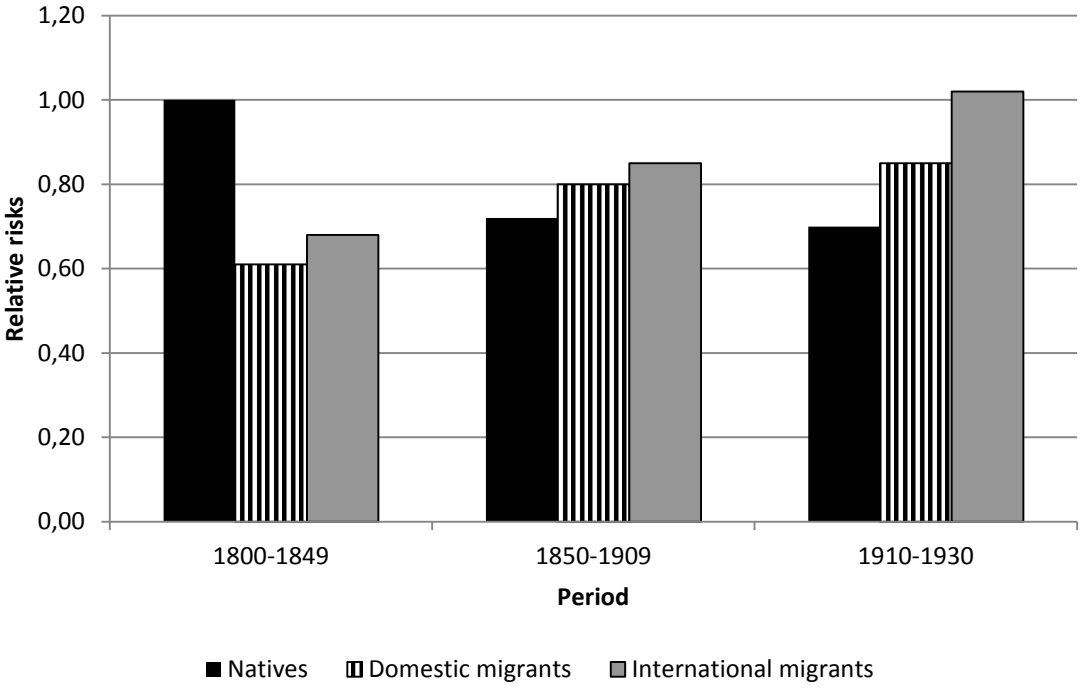
The interaction between period and migration status was run separately for men and women (Table 7.3). For all three periods there was a clear healthy migrant effect, and the effect was strongest for international migrants. Next, we ran the interaction between period and migration status separately for rural and urban born dwellers (graph 7.6 and graph 7.7) in order to evaluate whether there was a change in the influence of early life environment over time as measured by birth place type. This turns out to be the case. Whereas we find a strong healthy migrant effect for all three periods for urban-born dwellers, the effect was reversed for rural-born dwellers during the second and third period. In other words, the rural-born advantage during the age of pestilence turned into a rural-born disadvantage during the age of receding pandemics and the age of degenerative and man-made diseases. This leads us first to conclude that being born in the countryside was *only* an advantage in the age when cities were hit by large epidemics, and mortality was lower in the countryside. This underlines once more that low disease environment in childhood is associated with lower mortality risks in later life. Second, it is striking that the healthy migrant effect not only becomes smaller or just disappears but completely reverses, with international rural migrants having a much higher mortality risk than natives in the last

Graph 7.6: Relative mortality risks by period and migration status for urban born



Standardized for age, sex, distance from birth place, birth year, age at arrival, marital status, and occupation
+ p < 0.10, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Graph 7.7: Relative mortality risks by period and migration status for rural born



Standardized for age, sex, distance from birth place, birth year, age at arrival, marital status, and occupation
+ p < 0.10, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

period, while the healthy migrant effect for urban-born dwellers continued to exist during the second and third period. We believe that this is an indication that rural migrants faced social exclusion, as has been suggested by scholars of the Chicago School of Sociology. Once the countryside was no longer advantageous in terms of disease environment compared to the city, both domestic and international rural migrants faced excess mortality.

Table 7.3 Relative mortality risks by migration status and period for men and women

	Period	Natives	Domestic migrants	International migrants
Men	*1800-1849*	1,00 (ref)	0,79 ***	0,54 ***
	1850-1909	1,07 +	0,97	0,78 **
	1910-1930	1,40 ***	1,14 *	0,70 *
Women	*1800-1849*	1,00 (ref)	0,95	0,78 *
	1850-1909	1,27 ***	1,16 **	0,96 **
	1910-1930	1,29 ***	1,11 +	1,37 **

Standardized for age, sex, urban/rural birthplace, distance from birth place, birth year, age at arrival, marital status, and occupation

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

7.7 Separate results for Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm

7.7.1 Main effects

Table 7.4 shows separate models for all three cities. In Rotterdam and Stockholm, we observe that domestic migrants had lower mortality risks than the reference category of natives; the effect was particularly strong for domestic migrants in Rotterdam (RR=0.63). In Stockholm, international migrants (RR=0.70) had the lowest mortality risk compared to natives. In Antwerp and Rotterdam, no significant differences between natives and international migrants are found. The absence of significant differences for domestic and international migrants in Antwerp and international migrants in Rotterdam is probably the result of a lack of statistical power, since the analyses on the appended dataset did show that a healthy migrant effect existed in all three cities.

With regard to distance from birth place, we find only significant results for Stockholm. The results suggest a positive linear relationship between the distance from the birth place and the hazard of dying. In other words, the further away a migrant was born, the lower his/her mortality risk. This is in line with the results from Table 7.2, suggesting that the healthy migrant effect is indeed a result of a positive selection effect: The further migrants move, the healthier they are.

Though no significant results were found in Antwerp and Rotterdam, in Stockholm, research persons who were born in a city had a significant 6% higher mortality risk compared to those urban dwellers born in the countryside, suggesting that there was only an urban penalty among migrants in Sweden. Only in Sweden was the divide in living circumstances between growing up in the countryside and a city large enough to influence later life mortality.

For Antwerp and Stockholm, migrants who arrived after their twenty-fifth birthday had lower mortality risks (for both RR=0.69) compared to migrants who arrived before their fifteenth birthday. This underlines the fact that living for a longer time in the city of settlement was unhealthy. However, it might more strongly signify the selectivity of migration. Migrants who were able to move after their twenty-fifth birthday were particularly robust.

Next, in all three cities men had higher mortality risks than women, although the effect was considerably smaller in the case of Rotterdam (21% versus 69% and 70%). While in Antwerp a slightly negative relationship between birth cohort and mortality risks is observed (RR=0.99); the opposite was true in Rotterdam and Stockholm (for both RR=1.01). The increase in adult mortality in Rotterdam and Stockholm was most likely related to the industrial revolution, which also led to temporary increases in mortality during the nineteenth century in other European cities (Bourdelais 2000). In Antwerp, married city dwellers had a significantly lower hazard of dying (RR=0.78) compared to the reference category of unmarried. In Stockholm and Rotterdam, research persons who were separated or divorced had higher mortality risks compared to the unmarried persons (14% in the case of Stockholm; 35% in the case of Rotterdam). With regard to profession, we found only significant results for Stockholm. In the Swedish capital, foremen and skilled workers had a 12% higher risk of dying compared to the reference category of professionals. For day labourers and the unskilled the mortality risk was 27% higher.

In addition, we aimed to evaluate whether rural migrants indeed lacked immunity against epidemics. We therefore ran the analysis on Antwerp exclusively for major epidemic years (1848-1849, 1854, 1859, 1866, 1884-1886, 1894). In the years 1848, 1849, 1855, 1859 and 1866 Antwerp was hit by cholera outbreaks. In 1859 there was also malaria. In 1884 Antwerp's population was plagued by puerperal fever and smallpox; in 1885 smallpox and typhus; again smallpox in 1886, and measles in 1894 (Kruithof 1964). In the new model (results are not shown, available upon request), international migrants have a 20% higher mortality risk than natives, while they had lower mortality risks than natives in the main model (RR=0.96). This underlines that migrants indeed fared worse during epidemics, as they more often lacked immunity. They were so strongly hit by epidemics that the healthy migrant effect temporarily

Table 7.4 Relative mortality risks and standard errors for death at ages 30+

	MODEL I **Antwerp**		MODEL II **Stockholm**		MODEL III **Rotterdam**	
	RR	**SE**	**RR**	**SE**	**RR**	**SE**
Sex						
Women	(ref)		(ref)		(ref)	
Men	1.69***	.09	1.71***	.02	1.21†	.12
Birth year						
Continuous	.99***	.00	1.01***	.00	1.01***	.00
Migration Status						
Native	(ref)		(ref)		(ref)	
Domestic migrant	.96	.07	.89**	.02	.63†	.15
International migrant	.96	.12	.70***	.03	.83	.20
Unknown	.60	.18	-	.02	1.01	.00
Urban/ rural birth place						
Rural	(ref)		(ref)		(ref)	
Urban	.99	.05	1.06**	.02	.91	.10
Unknown	.85	.20	1.29***	.09	1.22	.43
Distance from birth place						
<50 km	(ref)		(ref)		(ref)	
50-100 km	1.09	.09	.94*	.02	.91	.12
100-250 km	1.17	.14	.92**	.02	1.18	.19
250+ km	.90	.19	.90***	.02	1.34	.24
Unknown	.92	.15	1.00	.06	1.27	.26
Age at arrival						
<15	(ref)		(ref)		(ref)	
15-24	.89	.17	.91	.06	1.10	.40
25+	.69*	.11	.69***	.04	1.01	.37
Unknown	.86	.14	.67***	.04	.89	.33
Civil Status						
Unmarried	(ref)		(ref)		(ref)	
Married	.78**	.07	.99	.01	.87	.14
Separated / Widowed	.95	.09	1.14***	.02	1.35†	.24
Unknown	.05***	.00	.20***	.00	.68	.21
Occupation						
Professionals	(ref)		(ref)		(ref)	
Foremen and skilled	.85	.15	1.12**	.04	.93	.10
Day labourers and unskilled	1.00	.18	1.27***	.05	1.05	.15
Unknown	1.02	.15	1.29***	.04	.94	.14
Number of Subject	13,674		226,114		1,907	
Deaths	1,808		27,951		573	
Total time-at-risk (person-years)	240,628		3,473,38		38,664	

Controlled for age
Exponentiated coefficients and standard errors
† $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

disappeared. Second, for the rural migrants the female advantage over males strongly weakened. While men in Antwerp had a 69% higher mortality risk than women in the main model (significant), this male disadvantage was greatly reduced to only 7% in the model for the epidemic years (although insignificant). This suggests that female rural migrants fared particularly bad during epidemics. It could be that (rural) girls were less often vaccinated than boys, as has been observed for the Netherlands (Van Poppel 2000). But the increase in mortality risks during epidemic years might also have been a consequence of the fact that the women took care of the ill and were therefore at an increased risk of getting infected (Pinelli & Mancini 1997). Finally, rural women might have been less resistant to epidemic disease, since, due to their lower status in society, they had a higher risk of being underfed (Klasen 1998).

7.7.2 Interaction effects

We tested several interactions in order to see whether all sub-categories of migrants experienced lower mortality risks than natives. We were able to identify two groups of migrants for which this was not the case. A first deviation from the pattern we find is in the interaction of sex and distance in Rotterdam (graph 7.8). Here, we do not find the same negative linear relation between migration distance and mortality as was found in graph 7.4 for the appended dataset. Both migrant men and women experience lower mortality risks compared to native men and women, but in the case of the men, the effect was strongest for those who moved less than 50 kilometres (RR=0.60). For women the effect was strongest for migrants who moved between 50 and 100 kilometres (RR=0.57). As migration distance grew, the mortality risk increased; while insignificant, for the category 250+ km, the mortality risk was considerably higher (RR=1.21) than for native men. We also ran the interaction with the migration status variable in the model. In that case, these long-distance migrants had a 63% higher mortality risk compared to the reference category of migrant men who moved less than 50 kilometres (results not shown; available upon request). The result was significant at the 5% level. Since the sample of international migrants consisted only of Germans, Italians and Italian-speaking Swiss, we know that this specific group of migrant men in Rotterdam was particularly vulnerable and disadvantaged in terms of survival chances.

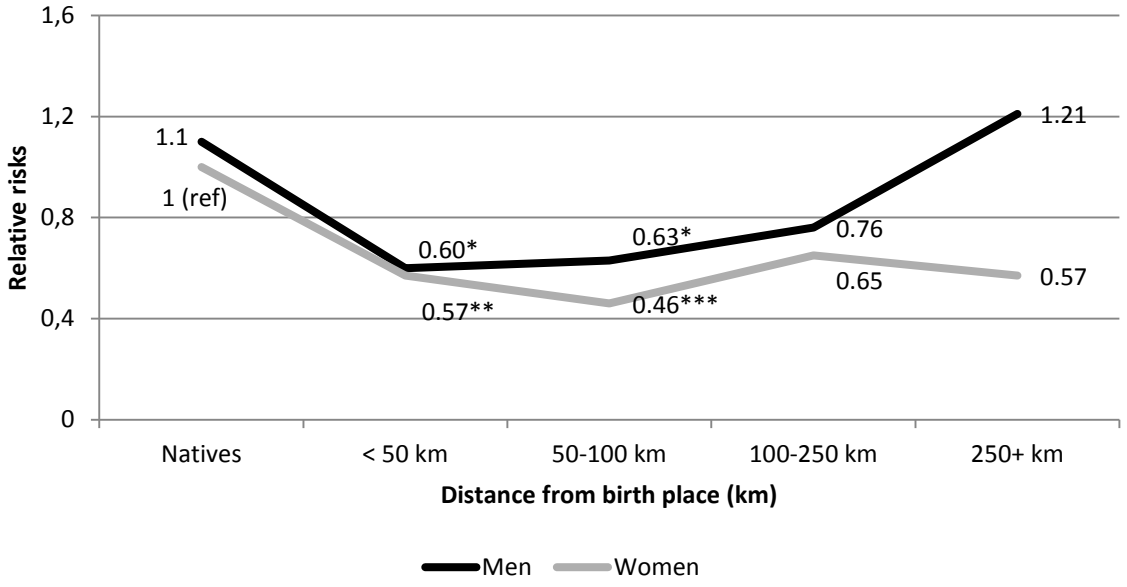
For Antwerp, we find a different picture regarding the interaction between sex and distance (graph 7.9). We did not find any significant results for women. Among the migrant men, mortality was lower among those who moved less than 50 kilometres (RR=1.59), compared to native men (RR=1.66). However, the category of 250+, which had increased mortality risks in Rotterdam, had much lower mortality risks in Antwerp compared to all other

men in Antwerp. This suggests that international migrant men in Antwerp fared particularly well, while the group of international migrants fared particularly poorly in Rotterdam. We think that this result is less surprising than it seems at first instance. Both groups of international migrants are rather selective groups. The long-distance migrants in our sample for Rotterdam were mostly Italians and Italian-speaking Swiss and a majority of them were employed as chimney sweeps (37 out of the 56 registered occupations of the Italian men were chimney sweepers). The Italians and Italian-speaking Swiss dominated this sector of the economy (Chotkowsky 2006). Chimney sweeping is obviously a dirty and dangerous occupation with long-term health consequences that lead to increased mortality risks (Gustavsson et al. 1988). However, at the same time the Italians, and especially the Italian chimney sweepers, were a group of chain migrants who all originated from the same area in the Swiss-Italian borderland and hardly mingled with the native Rotterdam population. The migrants were recruited with a so-called *padrone* system, i.e. chimney sweepers with their own business in Rotterdam travelled to the Swiss-Italian borderland and recruited there their own servants. Most of them were young and had already worked as student chimney sweepers in their homeland. They were attractive, because they were physically strong, but also because their income was considerably below that of Dutch apprentices (Chotkowsky 2006). Even though they were recruited on the basis of physical strength and were able to move over long distances, they experienced excess death. Given their higher mortality risks compared to the rest of the population, a particularly strong case is made that the Italians and Swiss migrants in Rotterdam faced vast social health inequalities.

The international male migrants in Antwerp, by contrast, were a more heterogeneous group in terms of ethnicity. Additionally, a considerable proportion of the long-distance migrant men in Antwerp belonged to the middle and higher classes. They were clerks, businessmen, bankers, entrepreneurs, goldsmiths, diamond workers, master mariners, engineers or ran an independent business. These migrants played an important role in Antwerp's local economy and, rather than ending up in the second segment of the labour market, they instead performed executive functions. The opposite is true for the male medium-distance migrants in Antwerp (50-100 and 100-250km) who were also a vulnerable group of migrants with elevated mortality risks compared to the natives. These migrants were mostly domestic migrants, although there were also some Dutch, German and French migrants among them. The occupational titles of these migrants suggest that they more often ended up in heavy port labour and construction. Accordingly, we believe that they had less human capital than the international long-distance

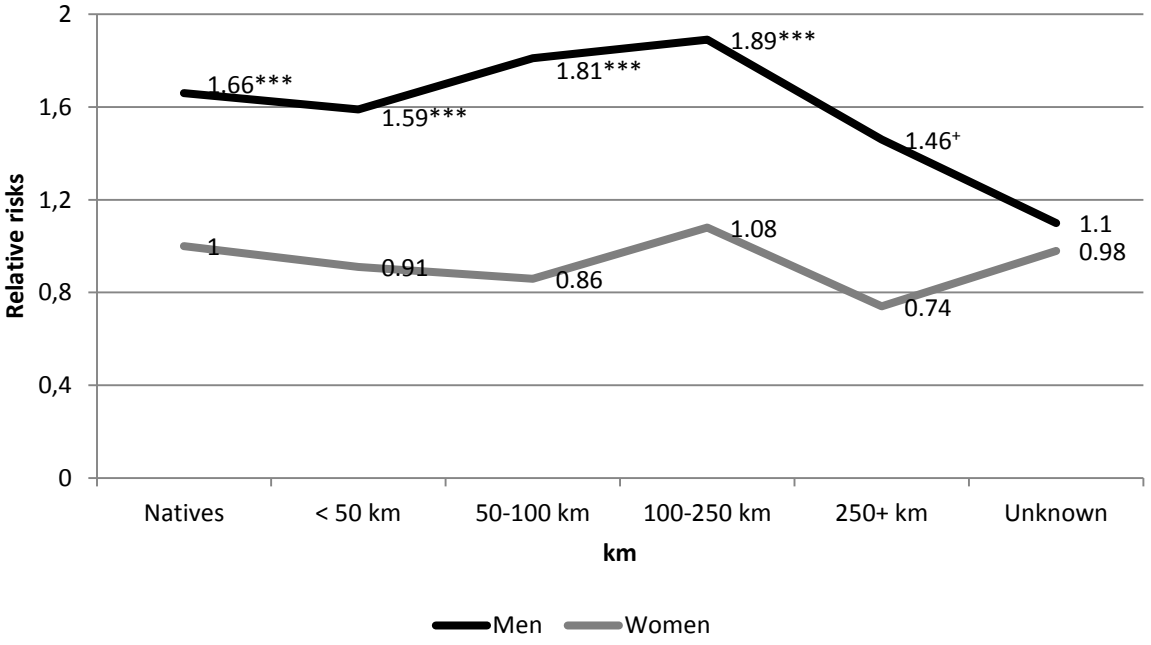
migrants and they lacked the social network and insider information short-distance migrants had at their disposal.

Graph 7.8: Relative mortality risks by sex and distance from birth place in Rotterdam



Standardized for age, urban/rural birthplace, migration status, birth cohort, age at arrival, marital status, and occupation
+ p < 0.10, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Graph 7.9: Relative mortality risk by sex and distance from birth place in Antwerp



Standardized for age, urban/rural birthplace, migration status, birth cohort, age at arrival, marital status, and occupation
+ p < 0.10, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

7.8 Conclusion and discussion

In this chapter we investigated mortality differences between migrants and natives in three different North-western European cities in the period 1850-1930. Whereas previous studies treat international and internal migrants as a single entity, we compare both groups, separately, to natives and also dig deeper into sub-groups of migrants with the help of interaction effects. We find ample evidence of healthy migrant effects in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm during the whole period of study. This suggests that the effect is rather universal, and can be found in different societies, for various migrant groups, in diverse mortality regimes, and at different points in time. Nevertheless, there are important variations in effect-size observable between the cities and the migrant groups, suggesting that contextual factors had an important impact on the differences in mortality risks and survival rates between migrants and natives. The strongest healthy migrant effect was found in Rotterdam among domestic migrants, while the health advantage for domestic migrants in Stockholm and, especially, in Antwerp was rather limited.

Findings from the multivariate analyses strongly suggest that the healthy migrant effect is at least partially a result of a positive selection effect, in the sense that migrants experience lower mortality risks than natives because only the physically and mentally fittest subjects from a sending area leave their place of origin. Generally speaking, the further migrants had moved, the lower their mortality risks. This suggests that distance functions as a second filter: Only the healthiest persons move over very long distances, because they are able to do so. Long distance migrants were thus, on average, physically strong persons, and at the same time also positively selected in terms of education and often moved within a network (Greefs 1998; Sewell 1985). In that sense, next to health, social and cultural resources might have contributed as well to their lower mortality risks compared to short distance migrants. Next, the later migrants moved to a city, the lower their mortality risk, suggesting that migrants who were still able to move at a later age in the life course were particularly healthy. At the same time, these migrants had lived for a shorter time in the city, underlining the idea of an urban penalty.

The early life environment played a role too. Migrants who grew up in the countryside had lower mortality risks compared to research persons who were born in a city. This was most likely the case because they experienced, on average, less disease during childhood. The effect was found for the appended dataset, as well as for Stockholm, where there was a large divide in living standards between Stockholm city and the surrounding countryside, most likely caused by industrialization and bad sanitation in the Swedish capital. In Antwerp and Rotterdam, where the differences in mortality risks between the city and the surrounding countryside were smaller,

no significant effect for birth place type was found. This suggests that the early life environment only seriously influences later life mortality and, by consequence, the healthy migrant effect, if there were huge differences in living circumstance between the migrants region of origin and the receiving (urban) society. In Stockholm, early industrialization, as well as high population density in combination with bad sanitation, caused such a discrepancy in living standards between rural and urban Sweden. This line of thought is also underlined by the fact that for rural-to-urban migrants in the appended dataset the healthy migrant effect turned into a 'healthy native effect' when major epidemic outbreaks belonged to the past and the rural-urban divide in mortality rates had faded away. The fact that for urban-to-urban migrants the healthy migrant effect remained during the whole period of study suggests that selection effects contributed more to the healthy migrant effect than the early life environment.

Next, we found evidence on the Antwerp data that rural migrants fared particularly badly during epidemic outbreaks, and this was especially the case for rural women. This underlines the idea that rural migrants indeed lacked immunity against epidemic diseases. The fact that they had experienced less disease in childhood decreased their overall later-life mortality risks during the age of pestilence, but no or limited exposure to epidemics in early life made them particularly vulnerable in cities during years of major epidemic outbreaks. This result echoes the findings from Alter and Oris (2005) for Eastern Belgium in the nineteenth century

We demonstrated in this chapter that mortality differences between migrants and natives can also be used as a heuristic tool in order to identify social exclusion among sub-groups of migrants. Since migrants under normal conditions experience a health advantage over natives due to positive selection effects, excess mortality among migrants points to vast social health inequalities between migrants and natives that are so strong that they can turn the health advantage of being a migrant into a disadvantage. We found this to be the case for four sub-categories of migrants: (1) rural migrants during the later period of study; (2) international migrants who lost their partner; (3) Italian and Italian-speaking Swiss men in Rotterdam; and (4) medium-distance domestic migrant men in Antwerp. The first category was found for both domestic and international rural-to-urban migrants during the periods when major epidemics belonged to the past. This makes the assumption that, in line with studies of the Chicago School of Sociology, rural migrants faced social exclusion. The second category which was also found in the appended dataset suggests that international migrants, contrary to domestic migrants, were put in an extra vulnerable position if they lost their partner. This might have been because they lacked a social network of family and friends who could assist them in times of trouble, and/or because they were not eligible for social support from the government since they lacked

citizenship. Limited chances of re-marrying for the widowed or the separated might have also played a role, since a new marriage provides protection and unmarried men and women face elevated mortality risk in later life (Donrovich et al. 2014). In general, it was more difficult for migrants to get access to the marriage market due to cultural differences and practical obstacles (Lynch 1998; Puschmann et al. 2014; 2015). Natives favoured native partners and having already been married did not make these migrants more attractive in the local marriage market, especially if they already had children from a previous marriage. Accordingly, widowed and divorced international migrants faced the insecurity of living in a foreign country (with the risk of marginalization) in the vulnerable stage of being unmarried and with the high risk of remaining unwed.

The third vulnerable group – the Italians and Italian-speaking Swiss – stayed outsiders in Rotterdam, as they had limited contact outside their own group and instead maintained their own identity and culture. More problematic was, however, their position in the labour market: A majority of the men performed a type of a job that natives deemed undesirable: chimney sweeping. This was a dirty, dangerous and very unhealthy job. The fourth vulnerable group consisted of medium-distance male migrants in Antwerp, most of whom were domestic migrants. These men frequently ended up in heavy construction work and port labour. They lacked the human capital long-distance international migrants had at their availability and the social network and insider information short-distance migrants had acquired. Consequently, they ended up in physically demanding jobs with an elevated risk of accidental deaths (cf. Lee 1999).

The fact that we did not find any distinct subgroup with excess mortality among female migrants suggests that there were gender differences in social exclusion itself, or in the effects of social exclusion. Either migrant women were less likely to remain outsiders or they paid less health costs for being socially excluded. The latter might have been a result of the fact that they were only to a limited extent active in the labour market. However, at the same time we found for Antwerp that the risk of women who were born in the countryside was much higher during epidemic years, compared to non-epidemic years. This suggests that these rural-to-urban migrant women were hit especially hard by epidemics. It could have been that rural girls were less often vaccinated than boys (Van Poppel 2000). Elevated mortality risk during epidemics might have also been a consequence of different gender roles, since women mostly took care of diseased people, which in turn increased their risk of being infected. Finally, these rural-to-urban migrant women might have been less resistant to epidemics, because they were less well-fed than men (cf. Klasen 1998). It was no coincidence that the increase in mortality risk was

found among rural-to-urban migrants, since female excess mortality was strongly associated with rural areas and backgrounds (Devos 2000; Klasen 1998).

Evidence from this chapter provides strong motivation to dig deeper into mortality differences between natives and migrants, by exploring the diversity in life-expectancy and survival rates within the migrant population. In this way, sub-groups of migrants can be identified who faced social health disadvantages and who were, notwithstanding any positive selection effect, so disfavoured in life that they also became disfavoured in death. Such an approach is interesting for historical populations, but might be even more relevant for contemporary societies, as it can help policymakers to identify vulnerable migrant groups and can be used to evaluate social inclusion policies and measures.

8 Salmon bias or red herring?

Comparing mortality risks between stayers and leavers

This chapter draws up on a paper, prepared together with Robyn Donrovich and Koen Matthijs, for the 11th European Social Science History Conference, Valencia, Spain, 30 March – 21 April 2016.

8.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter we found that during the latter half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century the majority of the migrants in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm had lower mortality risks than the native born population. However, since the healthy migrant effect was discovered in the 1980s (Markides & Coreil 1986), scholars have doubted whether the results of such analyses are real or merely a statistical artefact, resulting from measurement errors or biases towards healthy stayers (Riosmena, Wong & Palloni 2013). There are at least two reasons for these doubts. First, the results are rather counterintuitive and difficult to reconcile with several insights from studies on health and mortality. In contemporary Western societies, migrants often originate from countries and regions with higher death rates, and migrants have lower levels of education and less access to healthcare services than natives (Markides & Eschbach 2005; Domnich et al. 2012). Moreover, migrants - both in the past and today – have, on average, a lower socioeconomic profile than the native population, and they often live in poor and insalubrious neighbourhoods (Palloni & Arias 2004; Alter & Oris 2005). Next, migrants encounter stress as a result of moving and adapting to an alien environment with a different culture, customs and habits (Vega, Kolody & Valle 1987; Bhugra 2004). In addition, migrants leave family members and friends behind in their place of origin and, simultaneously, they might lack a social network in the destination society. Finally, they may encounter discrimination due to their different ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds. All of these parameters suggest that migrants would have poorer health outcomes than natives.

The second reason why scholars have cast doubts on the authenticity of the healthy migrant effect is related to the fact that demographic data on migrants are often of a poorer quality than data on the native population (Markides & Eschbach 2005). Consequently, there might be an under-registration of deaths among migrants causing an underestimation of the numerator in the equation; or, the mobility of the migrants might cause an overestimation of the denominator. Another insecurity, closely related to this, arises from the fact that life courses of migrants are usually censored when they have left the receiving society (Khlat & Courbage 1996). Lastly, most studies are unable to compare the health of migrants with those of their fellow countrymen in the society of origin who did not move (Deboosere & Gadeyne 2005).

Doubts about the authenticity of the observed health advantage among first-generation Latin American migrants in the US led to the formulation of the so-called salmon bias hypothesis. This hypothesis states that lower mortality risks among migrants are the result of selective return migration of the sick and elderly, and those who are unable to adapt to and endure harsh working and living conditions (Deboosere & Gadeyne 2005). If migrants indeed

have a salmon-like tendency to go home before they die, their deaths do not contribute to the national death statistics in the country of study, but rather to the country of origin. In cases where out-migration is not registered, this would lead to a situation in which migrants become 'statistically immortal' in the society under study (Abraído-Lanza et al. 1999). Even if out-migration of the sick and retired is registered, this is likely to lead to a measurement error, because the presence of migrants in a society who do not die is likely to lead to an inflated denominator, which would also cause an artificially lowered mortality rate among migrants. In European studies, the latter is often referred to as a 'mobility bias' (Khlat & Darmon 2013). Furthermore, if only the healthiest migrants stay, this group is over-represented in comparisons of later life mortality outcomes between migrants and natives.

8.2 Previous research

Although the salmon bias hypothesis appears quite often in research in the field of migration and mortality, empirical tests, which systematically compare mortality risks among stayers and leavers, are scarce or even non-existent. Next, those studies that have tried to evaluate whether lower mortality rates among migrants are indeed (partially) caused by selective out-migration by the sick and elderly have led to contradictory and often inconclusive results. Lu & Qin (2014) found, for example, on the basis of self-reported health measures, that unhealthy internal migrants in China were more likely to return to their place of birth or to move closer to their municipality of origin, while healthier migrants were more likely to stay in the destination. Turra and Elo (2008), who tested the salmon bias hypotheses with the help of social security data from the US, reached the conclusion that selective return migration of healthy people contributed to the Hispanic paradox, but that the effect was too small to explain the observed disparities in mortality risks between Hispanic migrants and the non-Hispanic white population in the US. Khlat and Courbage (1996) reached a comparable conclusion for Moroccans in France. Abraído-Lanza et al. (1999) deduced that lower mortality risks among first-generation Latin American migrants in the US cannot be explained in terms of selective out-migration. Wallace and Kulu (2013) reached the same conclusion for England and Scotland and Deboosere & Gadeyne (2005) confirmed this for several migrant groups in Belgium.

8.3 Aims and expectations

Most existing studies suffer from a lack of longitudinal micro-level data, which allow researchers to follow migrants after they left the society of study (Razum 2006). Accordingly, most studies are only able to estimate the degree to which under-reporting of deaths among

migrants and/or selective out-migration of the sick and elderly might have contributed to the observed mortality advantage among migrants. However, for one of the three databases we use in this PhD thesis – the Historical Sample of the Netherlands – this limitation does not apply, at least not with respect to internal migrants who moved from Rotterdam to a destination within the Netherlands (97% of all leavers), as this sample tracked the life course of migrants everywhere within the country. This is especially interesting since we observed in the previous chapter that the healthy migrant effect was particularly strong among internal migrants in Rotterdam.

In this last empirical chapter of the PhD thesis, we will evaluate whether selective out-migration contributed somehow to the observed healthy migrant effect or that the salmon bias hypothesis is rather a red herring. We will incorporate life-course information for leavers from the database, once they left Rotterdam, and compare leavers and stayers with each other and with the native population in order to determine if the observed healthy migrant effect was a result of selective out-migration. We will also evaluate whether the mortality risk of return migrants, i.e. those migrants who returned to their birth place, deviated from that of other leavers. Finally, we add a new element to the discussion by dividing the native population also into stayers and leavers. Too often natives have been considered as a static category, while a considerable share of this population became migrants themselves in the course of their life. It is worth evaluating whether mortality risks also differed between natives who never left and natives who did leave.

Apart from evaluating whether (some of) the results in the previous chapter might have been biased towards stayers, this analysis also contributes to the larger debate on the social inclusion of migrants. After all, leaving has often been interpreted as a sign that migrants had difficulties in becoming incorporated in the receiving societies (Thernstrom 1973; Crew 1979; Lucassen 2004). Excess mortality among leavers would make a strong point into that direction. It would strengthen the argument that this group of migrants paid a health price for their migration, since they were already positively selected in their birth place in terms of physical strength. In that sense, we would identify another vulnerable sub-group of migrants in addition to those we found in the previous chapter. Next, where excess mortality is found among return migrants, we can assume that members of this specific group of migrants were in want of healthcare from relatives in their region of origin. This would suggest that the social network of the migrants in the receiving society had been limited and/or that they had limited access to healthcare services in the receiving society.

Next, going home to die implies that strong ties with the place of origin had persisted and that these ties were considered more important than their connection to the receiving urban society. It would mean that leavers identified themselves at the end of their lives as (still) being culturally distinct from the native population of the receiving society. The wish to be buried in the place of birth is, in this sense, very symbolic and gives an interesting insight into the feelings of belonging of the migrant, at least for those who did not die from accidents or any other ephemeral cause of death, which would have prevented them from moving home.

If we find, by contrast, that the mortality risks of leavers did not significantly differ from that of stayers, or that the mortality risk of leavers was even lower compared to stayers, the salmon bias hypothesis can be refuted. In that case, lower mortality risks among domestic migrants in Rotterdam cannot be explained in terms of selective out-migration of unhealthy migrants. That would mean that we have proved once more that the healthy migrant effect is real and not due to measurement error. Thus, the argument about selective out-migration of 'unsuccessful' migrants would also be contested, at least with respect to the domains of health and social relations.

8.4 Data and methodology

Whereas in the previous chapter deaths of migrants and natives were being taken into account only if they took place in Rotterdam, we now also include deaths that occurred elsewhere in the Netherlands. This allows us to evaluate the mortality risks of leavers and to systematically compare it with those of natives and stayers. Whereas leaving Rotterdam led to right-censoring in the previous analysis, research persons are now being censored only when they died at the end of the last population register or when they left the country. We analyze again adult mortality (ages 30+) with the help of Gompertz models, with death specified as the failure event. We take the same variables into account as in the previous chapter: sex, birth year, migration status, urban-rural birth place, distance from birth place, age at first immigration, civil status and occupation. These last two variables are time-varying for the period that the migrants actually lived in Rotterdam. For consistency, all variables are coded in exactly the same way as in the previous chapter. Next to the variables from the previous analysis we added two extra variables: (1) a variable that divides the migrants into stayers and leavers, and (2) a variable that specified for both natives and migrants their last destination in the analyses. The latter variable divides the whole population into (A) natives who stayed in Rotterdam, (B) natives who left Rotterdam, (C) migrants who stayed in Rotterdam, (D) migrants who returned to their hometown and (E) migrants who moved somewhere else. For the stayer-mover variable,

leavers are the reference category; for the last destination, variable natives who stayed in Rotterdam are the reference category. The categorization of both variables is based on a combination of observed places of death, the declared destination of the last out-migration as it was specified in the population register and the place where a person was last observed. With respect to the stayer-leaver variable, the classification is straightforward. A migrant is considered as a stayer if the person died in Rotterdam or when he/she was still living in the Dutch port city at the end of the last population register. All other migrants are considered as leavers. For the last destination variable a similar procedure was followed, but it involved more categories, since natives are also divided into stayers and leavers and, within the group of migrants, returnees are now treated as a separate category. If a native died in Rotterdam or when his/her last presence in the data was observed in that city, he or she is considered as a native who stayed in Rotterdam. All other natives are treated as leavers. For migrants, the same procedure is followed as stated above, but if the person died in the birth place or when the person did not die, but moved back to his/her birth place, this migrant is ascribed to the category (D).

We make use of Kaplan-Meier survival estimates to get a first glance of the mortality differences according to the different categories of stayers and leavers. In order to control for other factors, which were likely to have influenced the mortality risk, we make use of multivariate analyses. Since the stayer-leaver variable and the variable last destination are collinear, we run separate models including only one of those variables at a time. We aim for parsimonious models, since our sample is relatively small and we want to maximize the statistical power for the newly added variables. After all, we have analyzed the other variables already extensively in the previous chapter. That is why we opt in first instance for nested models, in which we include only those variables that improve the fit of the model. Accordingly, our main effects models, in Table 8.1, are organized in a series of six nested models in which each additional variable was tested by use of likelihood ratio tests and AIC/BIC scores. Based on these tests, three variables that were included in the analyses of the previous chapter did not lead to a better fit and were thus excluded from this study: birthplace type, birthplace, and distance from birth place. The final model, VI, incorporating the main variables of interest and other controls from early and later life leads to the best fit.

8.5 Descriptive statistics

Table 8.1 provides an overview of the descriptive statistics for the study group. Migrants and native are relatively equally distributed over the study population: 52.1% are native born

Table 8.1 Descriptive statistics for the study group of men and women in Rotterdam, n=1452

Variable	Categories	Cases	% Distribution	Deaths
Migration status	Native	756	52.1	303
	Migrant	696	47.9	178
Stayers/leavers	Leavers	464	32	106
	Stayers	232	16	72
	Natives	756	52.1	303
Last episode	Natives who stayed in Rotterdam	409	28.2	217
	Natives who left Rotterdam	347	23.9	86
	Migrants who stayed in Rotterdam	232	16	72
	Migrants who emigrated home	103	7.1	31
	Migrants who emigrated elsewhere	361	24.9	75
Age at arrival	<15	83	5.7	3
	15-24	151	10.4	17
	25+	194	13.4	52
	Unknown, N/A	1024	70.5	409
Sex	Women	902	62.1	314
	Men	550	37.9	167
Birth year	*Continuous*	(range 1850-1910; mean, 1876)		
Civil status	Unmarried	356	24.5	78
	Married	606	41.7	136
	Widowed / separated	208	14.3	94
	Unknown	282	19.4	173
Occupation	Professionals	300	20.7	80
	Foremen and skilled	492	33.9	169
	Day laborers and unskilled	146	10.1	52
	Unknown	514	35.4	180
Total		**1.452**	**100%**	**481**

Note: Percentages for distributions rounded

Rotterdam dwellers and 47.9% migrants. However, only 178 deaths were observed among migrants versus 303 among natives. Twice as many migrants left Rotterdam at a certain moment in their life course, compared to those who stayed in the Dutch port city. We observed 106 deaths among leavers and 72 among stayers. Of the 756 natives, 464 stayed in Rotterdam and 347 left Rotterdam. Among the first group, 217 deaths were observed and 86 among the latter group. The group of return migrants counts 103 research persons and was thus relatively small:

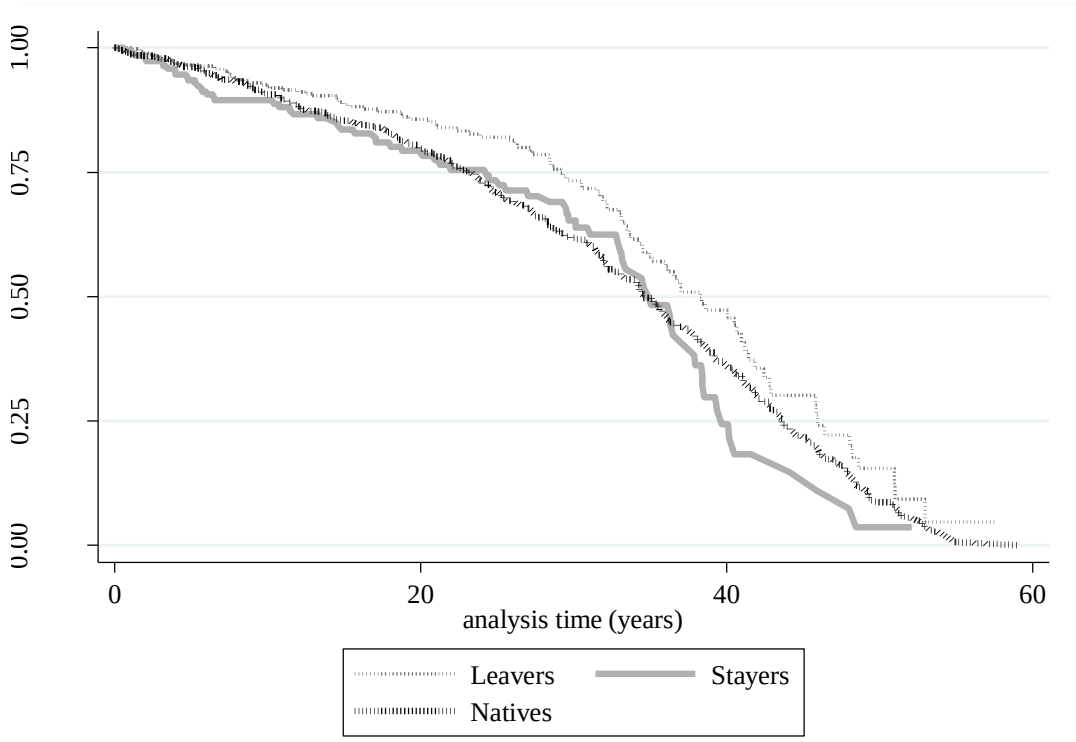
14.7% of the total migrant population; 22.2% of the leavers. For this group, only 31 deaths are observed in the data. The largest share of the migrants arrived for the first time in Rotterdam after their twenty-fifth birthday and they accounted for the majority (72%) of the observed deaths among the migrant population. However, for 268 migrants we do not know their age at first arrival. This group, together with the natives, makes up the 'unknown/ n.a.' category. 5.7% of the research persons were migrants who arrived before their fifteenth birthday. Among this group, we observed only three deaths. 10.4% percent of the research persons are migrants who arrived between their fifteenth and twenty-fifth birthday. For this group, we observed 17 deaths in the data.

The data was retrieved from the HSN release 2010. The study population consists of 902 men and 550 women and about twice as many deaths were observed among the latter groups. The birth year of the research persons ranges between 1850 and 1910 and the mean birth year is 1876. The largest share of the research persons were married (41.7%), but the largest number of deaths is observed among persons with an unknown civil status. For the largest share of the migrants and natives (35.4%) we do not know their occupation and this is, at the same time, the group with the highest number of observed deaths. The second largest occupational group are the foremen and skilled workers (33.9%) with 169 observed deaths. The professionals and the group of unskilled- and day labourers were considerably smaller and we observe a smaller number of deaths among these groups too.

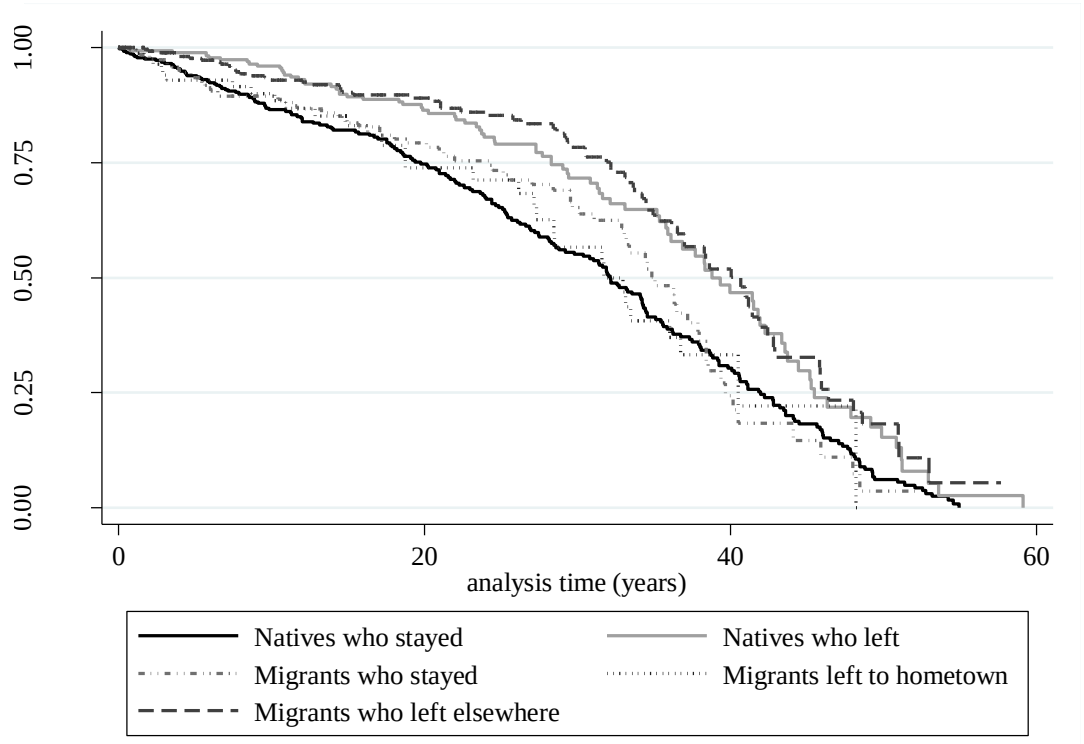
8.6 Results

Graph 1 shows the Kaplan-Meier estimates for natives and migrants. The latter category is divided into stayers and leavers. The graph shows that stayers have higher mortality rates than natives shortly after they enter the risk set. This might be related to the stress of moving to an alien environment. However, between 25 to 35 years of analysis time the mortality risk of stayers is lower compared to the natives, but from 37 years on their survival rates drop below those of the natives. This suggests that the stayers paid a long-term price for their move to the city. The experience of the leavers is a completely different one. For the first ten years their

Graph 8.1: Kaplan-Meier survival estimates by natives, stayers and leavers



Graph 8.2 Kaplan-Meier survival estimates by last destination



mortality risks are comparable to those of the natives, but subsequently their survival rates are considerably higher than those of the natives and the stayers. Until about 35 years of analysis time there is a clear divergence in the survival rates observable in the advantage of the leavers. Subsequently, a slight convergence takes place, but the survival rates among the leavers remain well above those of the natives.

Graph 8.2 divides natives and migrants into different sub-categories: natives who stayed in Rotterdam, natives who left, migrants who stayed in Rotterdam, migrants who returned to their home town and migrants who left for another destination. During the first thirty years of analysis time natives who stayed in Rotterdam have the highest mortality risks. Migrants who left for their home town had somewhat lower mortality rates. The middle group is formed by migrants who stayed in Rotterdam. However, after some 35 years of analysis time their survival rates quickly declined and even became lower than that of native stayers. Natives who left Rotterdam had considerably lower mortality risks and the highest survival rates were found among migrants who left to another destination. Their health advantage was the largest after some thirty years of analysis time.

Table 8.2 presents the nested Gompertz proportional hazard models, which distinguish among the migrants between stayers and leavers. Model I contains only the migration status variable. Unsurprisingly, migrants had a lower risk of dying than natives (RR= .86), although insignificant. In model II the stayer-leaver variable is included. Now the migration status variable becomes significant and the effect is stronger (RR=.75). As it turns out, stayers have a 44% higher mortality risk compared to leavers and the result is significant at the 5% level. In model III age at in-migration is added. The migration status variable now becomes insignificant and the effect becomes smaller (RR=.98). The stayer-leaver variable stays significant and the effect remains stable. Migrants who arrived before their fifteenth birthday have a much smaller risk of dying (RR=.22) compared to the reference category of migrants who moved after their twenty-fifth birthday to Rotterdam. The result is significant at the 1% level. The same is true for migrants who arrived between their fifteenth and twenty-fifth birthday, but the effect is smaller (RR=.55). Migrants who arrived at an unknown age had a higher risk of dying in Rotterdam, compared to the reference category, but the result is insignificant. Note, that this is completely the opposite result from what we found in the analyses in the previous chapters, where late in-migration was associated with lower mortality risks. In model IV sex is added to the model. This has no major influence on the other variables (only unknown age at arrival becomes significant) and does not really improve the fit of the model. The sex variable suggests that men had a 13% higher risk of dying, but the result is not significant. In Model IV the

Table 8.2 Hazard ratios and confidence intervals for deaths at ages 30+ for men and women presented in nested models, Rotterdam (subjects=1452; failures=481)

		MODEL I		MODEL II		MODEL III		MODEL IV		MODEL V		MODEL VI	
		H.R.	C.I.	H.R.	C.I.	H.R.	C.I.	H.R.	C.I.	H.R.	C.I.	H.R	C.I.
Migration status	**Native (ref)**												
	Migrant	0,86	[0.71-1.03]	0.75*	[0.60-0.94]	0,98	[0.77-1.26]	0,98	[0.76-1.26]	0,95	[0.74-1.21]	0.68**	[0.53-0.88]
Stayers/leavers (migrants)	**Leavers (ref)**												
	Stayers			1.44*	[1.06-1.94]	1.43*	[1.05-1.93]	1.45*	[1.06-1.95]	1.40*	[1.03-1.89]	1.86***	[1.36-2.54]
Age at arrival	**<15**					0.22*	[0.07-0.69]	0.22*	[0.07-0.69]	0.18**	[0.06-0.60]	0.33+	[0.10-1.07]
	15-24					0.55*	[0.31-0.95]	0.55*	[0.31-0.95]	0.50*	[0.29-0.87]	0,69	[0.39-1.20]
	25+ (ref)												
	Unknown					1,32	[0.94-1.84]	1.32+	[0.94-1.85]	1.35+	[0.96-1.88]	1.84***	[1.30-2.61]
Sex	**Women (ref)**												
	Men							1,13	[0.94-1.37]	1,09	[0.90-1.32]	1,08	[0.87-1.34]
Birth year	***continuous***									1.03***	[1.02-1.04]	1.04***	[1.03-1.05]
Civil status	**Unmarried**											0.68**	[0.51-0.89]
	Married (ref)												
	Widowed / separated											1,22	[0.88 -1.69]
	Unknown											2.59***	[1.94-3.45]
Occupation	**Professionals (ref)**												
	Foremen and skilled											1,17	[0.89-1.53]
	Day laborers and unskilled											1,20	[0.84-1.71]
	Unknown											1.30+	[0.98-1.73]
log liklihood		-281,60		-278,836		-265,313		-264,467		-248,026		-186,121	

Controlled for age

Exponentiated coefficients and confidence intervals in brackets

+ p < 0.10, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

continuous variable birth year is added. This variable is highly significant (at the 0.1% level) and suggests an increase of 3% in the mortality risk for each successive birth year. The addition of the birth year variable slightly reduced the hazard ratio of the stayers and led to an increase for the effects with respect to the age at arrival. In model VI time-varying civil status and occupation were added to the models. This led to a stronger healthy migrant effect and an increase in the hazard ratio of the stayers, as a result of which stayers now have a 86% higher mortality risk compared to leavers. The effects for age at arrival weakened and the category 15-24 becomes insignificant. As it turns out, singles had a lower mortality risk compared to the reference category of married research persons (RR=.68). Widowed and separated persons had a 22% higher mortality risk compared to married persons, but the result was insignificant. People with an unknown civil status had even more than 2.5 times the mortality risk compared to the married. For occupation only the unknown category was significant. Research persons in this category had a 30% higher mortality risk than the reference category of professionals.

Table 8.3 shows the Gompertz model, which distinguishes between stayers and leavers among both migrants and natives. The model is controlled for age, age at arrival, sex, birth year, civil status and occupation. No significant difference in the mortality risk is found between migrants who stayed in Rotterdam and the reference category of staying natives. Natives who left Rotterdam had a considerable lower mortality risk (RR=.56) compared to natives who stayed, significant at the 0.1% level. Migrants who returned to their home town seem to have had also a lower mortality risk (RR=.76), but the result was not significant. Migrants who moved elsewhere had the lowest relative risk (.50) compared to the reference category of stayers and this result is highly significant.

Table 8.3 Hazard ratios and confidence intervals for deaths at ages 30+by last destination for men and women, Rotterdam (subjects: 1452; failures=481)

	H.R.	**C.I.**
Natives who stayed in Rotterdam (ref)		
Natives who left Rotterdam	0.56***	[0.43-0.71]
Migrants who stayed in Rotterdam	1.03	[0.74-1.41]
Migrants who returned home	0.76	[0.50-1.13]
Migrants who left to another destination	0.50***	[0.37-0.66]

Controlled for age, age at arrival, sex, birth year, civil status, and occupation

Exponentiated coefficients and confidence intervals in brackets

+ p < 0.10, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

8.7 Conclusion and discussion

The analyses in this chapter show that we can confidently refute the salmon bias hypothesis: The observed lower mortality risks among domestic migrants in Rotterdam are real and were not caused by out-migration of the sick and elderly. The contrary is true, as migrants who left Rotterdam were the group with the lowest relative mortality risks of the whole population under study. In all models stayers had higher mortality risks than leavers. If we add to this that natives who left Rotterdam also had significantly lower mortality risks than natives who stayed in the Dutch port city, we can only conclude that migration and good health are even more strongly correlated than we could imagine on the basis of the analyses in the previous chapter: The healthier people were, the more they moved. This also makes the idea unlikely that leaving was a direct consequence of being unable to adapt to harsh working and living conditions, and the inability to realize social inclusion: Leavers were those migrants who had the best health and, in turn, that allowed them to search for and take up more attractive (employment) opportunities elsewhere. Migrants who returned to their place of birth seem to have also had lower mortality risks compared to natives who stayed in Rotterdam, although the result was not significant. This leads us to dismiss the idea that a majority of the return migrants purposefully went home to die. This would have resulted in much higher hazard ratios for this specific group of migrants. This result simultaneously suggests that a majority of the migrants was not so strongly connected to their place of birth and that they felt that they should spend the last phases of their life there. This suggests that for a majority of the migrants the ties with their home town weakened during their stay in Rotterdam. However, only a minority became strongly tied to Rotterdam, as only about one fifth of the migrants died there. A majority moved on and died elsewhere. Whether they became more attached to their new destinations we do not know.

Interestingly, no significant difference was found between migrants who stayed in Rotterdam and natives who stayed in Rotterdam in Table 8.3. This suggests that the lower mortality risks among the migrant group as a whole, compared to the native population as a whole, is primarily caused by the leaving migrants and not by the staying migrants. This means that it was not so much the stayers among the migrants, but rather the leavers who were a selective group of disproportionately healthy people. Accordingly, this convinces us that the salmon bias hypothesis is a red herring. Studies, both contemporary and historical, which will be able to fully incorporate the mortality risks among leavers will find an even stronger healthy migrant effect than studies that only compare natives and migrants who stayed in the receiving society.

Finally, the Kaplan-Meier survival estimates suggest that migrants who stayed in Rotterdam ultimately paid a health price. After about forty years of analysis time - typically during

retirement - their survival rates dropped below that of the natives. This suggests that when migrants in Rotterdam became older they had a much more difficult time than the natives. This might be either because they could not profit in the same way from healthcare and/or because of the lack of a social network meant that they had nobody to take care of them when they needed it most.

In conclusion, this chapter addressed a common concern among researchers in the intersecting fields of migration and health equity studies. Building on our previous analyses, this study presents evidence that the health advantage of migrants is real and cannot be explained by the salmon bias hypothesis – that unhealthy migrants merely disappear back to their homeland to die and thus do not contribute to the mortality records in the receiving country. A majority of the migrants left Rotterdam and their mortality risks were lower than among the natives and the migrants who stayed. Stayers paid a health price during retirement, which was most likely related to the lack of social network of people who could care for them and/or a lack of access to healthcare facilities. This means that stayers faced a certain form of social exclusion. Leaving can, however, not be interpreted as a consequence of social exclusion, as the leavers were the healthiest group. They left Rotterdam in the hope of finding better opportunities elsewhere. The fact that only a minority of the migrants returned home and that their mortality risks were still below that of the natives suggests that few migrants purposefully returned home to die. This suggests that a majority of the migrants was not so closely tied to their home town that they felt that they should spend the end of their lives there and should be buried there. Their feeling of belonging had obviously changed, but only a tiny group of the migrants became Rotterdammers in heart and soul.

9 Conclusion and discussion

We set out to study processes of social inclusion and exclusion among first-generation internal and international migrants in Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm in the period 1850-1930 from a life course perspective. We focused on aspects of partner choice, marriage, the transition to parenthood, occupational attainment, career mobility and later-life mortality. This gave us insight into different life chances of migrants and natives, and more specifically into the degree to which both social groups were able to fulfill core needs in life, as specified by Maslow (1943; 1953). More specifically, we analysed migrants' access to marriage and reproduction, inclusion into other groups in the receiving society, inclusion into the labour market as well exclusion in the domain of health. We used data from three large historical demographic databases - The Antwerp COR* database, the Historical Sample of the Netherlands and the Stockholm Historical database - which contain a wealth of longitudinal data on migrants and natives in all three cities. Making use of a diverse set of techniques, including logistic regression, event history analyses and multilevel growth models, we studied the degree to which migrants became included into different domains of society and its determinants, focussing on individual characteristics of the migrants. By comparing results for the three different port cities, we were also able to gain a deeper understanding of the influence of contextual factors on processes of social inclusion and exclusion. Whereas different results between cities asked for explanations, similarities across the three cities suggested that certain mechanism were rather context-independent and more universal.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, urban in-migration in European cities increased three-fold compared to the first half of the century (Lucassen & Lucassen 2009; 2011). Antwerp, Rotterdam and Stockholm received massive numbers of newcomers during the period 1850-1930 with a large variation in terms of sex, age, geographic origin, duration of stay, occupation, social class and human capital. All three cities experienced comparable population growth, but offered different economic opportunities. Rotterdam turned during the period of study into the largest European port city and developed important port-related industries, which mainly processed raw materials arriving by ship or railway. Antwerp became Europe's second largest port city, and competed with Rotterdam in terms of cargo. Contrary to Rotterdam, Antwerp developed hardly any industry during the period of study, with the exception of the diamond industry. Stockholm was in many ways the mirror image of Antwerp, as the city turned into Sweden's prime industrial hotspot with a port of secondary importance for the economy. Another important difference between the three cities is related to the fact that Stockholm was, contrary to Antwerp and Rotterdam, a capital city, where the royal palace, the parliament, the ministries, the court, embassies and the larger state administration created a demand for higher educated government officials, diplomats and a wide range of other types of

white-collar workers. As we expected, these different urban labour markets offered divergent opportunities for the different groups of migrants they received.

9.1 Main results

The most important conclusion we can draw from the empirical chapters of this PhD thesis is that, as today, social inclusion in the past was not a self-evident process. Migrants' access to marriage and reproduction was severely hampered, as has been illustrated on the basis of average ages at first marriage and proportions entering marriage. Migrants married considerably later and stayed disproportionately single. The situation was most severe for international migrants. As data on internal migrants in Rotterdam showed, exclusion from the marriage market continued, even after migrants had left the Dutch port city. This makes it highly unlikely that these migrants simply considered themselves too young to marry or intended to marry somewhere else. Given the 'holy' status of marriage at the time and the increased insecurity for unmarried persons, it is highly unlikely that migrants disproportionately chose to purposefully restrain from marriage.

Only in Stockholm did economic capital increase the chances of getting access to marriage and reproduction, while among internal migrants in Antwerp and Rotterdam, the lowest social classes had better chances of getting married compared to the middle and higher social classes. Next, in Antwerp and Rotterdam rural migrants had better chances of getting access to marriage and reproduction compared to migrants who were born in a city, while for Stockholm no significant difference between rural-to-urban and urban-to-urban migrants was found. This confirms Anne Winter's (2009) hypothesis that the social inclusion of economically deprived and low educated rural-to-urban migrants went more smoothly in large port cities compared to industrial cities. For the migrants from the middle and higher classes the situation seems to have been the reverse. They fared much better in the industrial capital of Sweden, where human capital and social status were valued and could be used to negotiate access to the marriage market.

Migrants who arrived earlier during the life course had better chances of getting access to marriage and reproduction. The same was true for migrants from the direct vicinity of the city of settlement. This suggests that cultural differences played an important role in exclusion mechanisms regarding marriage and reproduction. The fact that French speaking migrants had a much lower likelihood of marrying in Antwerp compared to Dutch speaking migrants from Flanders points into the same direction.

Next, we looked at the inclusion of migrants into other groups, by studying the partner choices of migrants in terms of geographic origin. Whereas partner choices of migrants are usually studied separately from marriage opportunities, we incorporated both processes together in one analysis. This is both useful and appropriate since mating patterns and marriage chances are closely interrelated. Migrants' likelihood of marrying inside or outside the own group is dependent on the number of potential partners in the own group, which, in turn, is a function of the size and the composition of that group in terms of sex, age and marital status. The smaller the own group, the smaller the risk of endogamy (Blau, Blum & Schwartz 1982). However, considering the large homogamy by geographic group, members of small groups are expected to have had lower marriage chances in the host society compared to members of large groups (Van de Putte 2003).

We developed a theoretical framework, which links four outcomes related to partner choice and marriage to four acculturation processes as distinguished by Berry (1997). We made a distinction between (1) migrants who married a native born partner (assimilation), (2) migrants who married a migrant from another birth region or country (integration), (3) migrants who married partners from the same geographic background (separation), and (4) migrants who stayed single (marginalization). Together, these outcomes and the corresponding acculturation trajectories form a sliding scale in terms of social inclusion and exclusion.

For those internal migrants who entered marriage, a much smaller proportion married to a native than would have been the case if partner choice had been random in terms of geographic origin. The divide was largest in the case of Rotterdam. We expected that 60% of the migrants would marry a native partner, while, in fact, it was only 16%. This leads us to the conclusion that migrants were perceived as unattractive partners among natives, a result which is in line with other studies on partner choice among nineteenth-century migrants (Schrover 2002; Van de Putte 2003). Next, the figures on partner choice show that internal migrants who arrived in the city as singles did not 'import' marriage partners on a large scale; otherwise the percentage of migrants that married with partners from the same birth region would have been much larger. This shows that migrants who escaped marginalization did not cluster within their own groups, but mingled with other migrants and, to a limited extent, with natives. We can also assume that the lack of intermarriage was not so much a result of aversion of migrants towards natives.

The observed pattern of assortative mating by geographic origin is related to a combination of cultural differences, meeting opportunities and demographic constraints. Internal migrants who were born in a French speaking area in Belgium were at an increased risk of experiencing separation. The French speakers obviously had a different identity and a dividing line between

them and the Dutch speaking population could easily be drawn. In Rotterdam and Stockholm, internal urban-to-urban migrants had a higher likelihood of marrying outside their own group versus inside the own group, compared to rural-to-urban migrants. The result was found both for exogamous marriages with migrants and exogamous marriages with natives. This shows that migrants who were born in a city were more easily included into other groups in the receiving society, while rural-to-urban migrants were more likely to stay within their own group. This was at least the case for Rotterdam and Stockholm. For Antwerp no significant result in this respect was found.

Next, migrants who arrived before their seventeenth birthday had better chances of marrying both exogamous with migrants and exogamous with natives, compared to migrants who arrived between their seventeenth and thirtieth birthday. The likelihood of marrying outside the own group was smallest for migrants who arrived after their thirtieth birthday. From this, we can assume two things: First, that meeting opportunities played an important role. Migrants who arrived as children went to school with native children and children from other migrant groups. This enabled opportunities early on in the life course to make friendships outside the own group and to develop a heterogeneous social network. Second, we can assume that the social distance between migrants and natives was smaller if migrants arrived early, as they were socialized to a considerable degree in the receiving society.

Migrants with certain forms of human capital seem to have crossed group boundaries more easily. Up until the age of thirty the chances of marrying outside the own group increased. After that age, the likelihood decreased. This suggests that sexual capital was highly valued in the marriage market, as age is correlated with beauty and fecundity (Hakim 2010). Next, economic capital increased the chances of marrying outside the own group. This, at least, was the case for semi-skilled and skilled labourers in Rotterdam (increased risk for marrying exogamous with a migrant), as well as for the middle and higher social classes in Stockholm (increased risk for marrying exogamous with a native). For Antwerp no significant result was found in the multinomial logistic regression.

The fact that certain migrant characteristics decreased access to the marriage market, but facilitated the likelihood of crossing-group boundaries and vice versa show that it is important to study marriage opportunities and partner choice in relation to each other. Long-distance migrants had, for example, a much higher risk of staying single, but their chances of marrying outside their own group versus inside their own group, were larger. Combining this information is crucial. If we only looked at the partner choices of the migrants – as has been done often on the basis of marriage certificates - we would over-estimate the chances of experiencing integration and assimilation, as the fact that the larger group of long-distance migrants had a

much higher risk of staying single and facing marginalization in the marriage market would simply be hidden. The same is more or less true for differences between rural-to-urban and urban-to-urban migrants. Urban-to-urban migrants in Rotterdam and in Stockholm had better chances of crossing group boundaries; at the same time, they had smaller chances of getting married, as a consequence of demographic constraints: There were not enough partners available in the own group.

In chapter 6 we 'reconstructed' the occupational attainment and career mobility of migrant and native men with the help of occupational titles, which were coded into HISCO and recoded into HISCAM, a social stratification system developed for Western countries in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As it turned out, international migrant men in Antwerp and Stockholm generally reached considerably higher social positions than natives during their professional career and this result was found for all age categories, except the age category 45-49 in Stockholm. In Antwerp, immigrants strongly out-performed natives, underlining the favourable business climate for international newcomers with large amounts of human capital and an international network of relations (cf. Greefs 2008a; 2008b; Winter 2009). In Stockholm, international migrants played an important role in the economy, as Sweden's industrialization was dependent upon know-how from abroad. Consequently, immigrants and Swedish return migrants - especially the engineers among them - played a key role in Stockholm (cf. Grönberg 2003). The presence of the royal palace, the state, the court, the ministries and embassies ensured that there were also good opportunities for higher educated immigrants in administration and diplomacy.

The labour market inclusion process of internal migrants was very different from that of international migrants and major deviations were found between the cities. Internal migrants entered the labour market at a lower position than natives in all three cities and for all age categories, apart from internal migrants who arrived in Antwerp between their twenty-fifth and thirty-fifth birthday. However, in the port cities of the Low Countries there were relatively good chances for migrants who arrived young. We followed synthetic cohorts of internal migrants who arrived between their fifteenth and twentieth birthday. In Antwerp and Rotterdam, the group of young newcomers was able to realize upward mobility, to close the gap with the natives and, ultimately, to out-perform them. Again, the labour market inclusion process went most smoothly in Antwerp, as internal migrants more or less immediately moved up the social ladder, while internal migrants in Rotterdam initially experienced downward mobility. In Stockholm, by contrast, internal migrants entered the labour market at a lower level and stayed well behind natives, and the gap became even larger during the latter part of their career.

The multilevel growth models showed that internal migrants who moved over longer distances reached, on average, higher positions than short-distance migrants. This is in line with studies by, amongst others, Hilde Greefs (2008b), Leo Lucassen (2004), William Sewell (1985) and Anne Winter (2009), who all underline that long-distance migrants were positively selected in terms of human capital. Moving over long distances required financial means, information and a social network and was not undertaken by individuals who were not well prepared for the labour market of the receiving urban society. Next, rural-to-urban migrants generally reached considerably lower occupational positions than natives. Rural-to-urban migrants were usually low-educated and low-skilled short-distance migrants, who were often forced to move to a city because agricultural crisis and demographic pressure meant that they were no longer able to make a living in the countryside. Upon arrival in the city they encountered prejudice and discrimination and were inclined to move back to the countryside (Hochstadt 2002; Van de Putte 2003). Given these circumstances, rural-to-urban migrants must have been less willing to invest in context specific human capital, which was necessary to adapt to local labour market.

These diverging experiences for internal migrants in Antwerp and Rotterdam, on the one hand, and Stockholm, on the other hand, confirm again Anne Winter's (2009) hypothesis that the social inclusion process of economically deprived short-distance migrants from the countryside went more smoothly in port cities than in large industrial cities, as port labour better suited the profile of low-skilled newcomers. We believe, moreover, that migrants who moved to a more diversified labour market - like the one of Stockholm – had more difficulties in moving up the social ladder, as natives in such a society were better able to reserve the best jobs for their own group. In such cities, the labour market was more complex and harder to penetrate for outsiders. The complexity of the labour market was to the advantage of natives and put them in a position in which they were able to pull the strings. Consequently, migrants clustered more often in occupations with a lower status. Large port cities like Antwerp and Rotterdam had a less diversified and less complex labour market structure with fewer opportunities for upward mobility. In such urban societies, the social distance between natives and migrants was smaller and it was therefore easier for newcomers to penetrate the local economy. Lastly, in port cities natives were highly dependent on outsiders for trade and business. This shaped a more open attitude towards newcomers.

In the last two empirical chapters of this PhD thesis we studied differences in adult mortality (ages 30+) between migrants and natives. In line with contemporary studies and a couple of historical studies (Oris & Alter 2001; Alter & Oris 2005; Kesztenbaum & Rosenthal 2010), we found that migrants had, on average, lower mortality risks than the native population. The

healthy migrant effect was particularly strong among internal migrants in Rotterdam. The event history analyses showed that both positive selection effects, as well as early life conditions, contributed to the healthy migrant effect: As migration distance increased, mortality risks declined. Next, being born in the countryside and moving later in life to a city were both associated with lower mortality risks. This can be explained by the fact that cities - especially during the early research period – were a much unhealthier environment compared to the countryside due to crowding and a lack of hygiene. This was especially the case for Stockholm, where the discrepancy in mortality figures with the surrounding rural environment was largest. Migrants who grew up in a rural setting experienced, on average, less disease in childhood, which translated itself into lower mortality risks during later life. In line with a study by George Alter & Michel Oris (2005), we found for the city of Antwerp that the healthy migrant effect temporarily disappeared during years of epidemic outbreaks. This is most likely a consequence of the fact that rural migrants lacked immunity in later life due to limited exposure to epidemic diseases in childhood and youth. Especially female rural migrants were strongly hit during epidemics. This suggests that females were less often vaccinated and/or that they were at an increased risk of becoming infected because they took care of the diseased.

Next, we demonstrated how mortality data can be used as a heuristic tool to identify social health inequalities among migrants, resulting from social exclusion. Since migrants are positively selected in their region of origin, excess mortality among certain groups of migrants in the destination city must be a result of discrimination and exclusion in core domains of the receiving society. It is important to realize that this is a severe type of exclusion as it turns a 'natural' health advantage into a disadvantage. We identified four sub-groups of migrants for which this was the case: 1) rural migrants during the later period of study, (2) international migrants who lost their partner, (3) Italian and Italian-speaking Swiss men in Rotterdam, and (4) medium-distance domestic migrant men in Antwerp. When the rural-urban disparity in mortality rates belonged to the past, rural migrants started to face excess mortality, which suggests that they had difficulties in becoming incorporated into the receiving society and paid a health price. Next, for international migrants, the loss of a partner had a more severe impact than for natives and internal migrants. This seems to underline that immigrants lacked indeed a social network, but the disadvantage might have also been a result of no or limited financial support from the authorities for non-nationals. Limited chances for re-marriage might have a played a role too. Next, in Rotterdam, Italian and Italian-speaking Swiss males experienced excess mortality risks. Their vulnerability was a consequence of their dangerous, dirty and unhealthy profession: A majority of this group were chimney-sweeps, a job which natives were unwilling to take on. Finally, medium-distance male migrants (mostly from within Belgium) in

Antwerp faced excess mortality. These men often ended up disproportionately in heavy construction work and port labour. They lacked the human capital long-distance international migrants had at their disposal and the social network and insider information short-distance migrants had acquired. Interestingly, a comparable group of internal migrants in Rotterdam fared particularly well. This suggests considerable differences between Antwerp and Rotterdam in terms of the opportunity structure for internal migrants, which go beyond the differences we observed in terms of social status.

In the last chapter, we tested the so-called salmon bias hypothesis, which states that the healthy migrant effect is a statistical artefact caused by selective out-migration of the sick and elderly, and those migrants who are unable to adapt to and endure harsh working and living conditions (Deboosere & Gadeyne 2005). In order to test this hypothesis we followed the life course of internal migrants who left Rotterdam. We chose internal migrants in the Dutch port city as they exhibited the largest observed healthy migrant effect, and as the HSN database was the only database that allowed us to follow these migrants within the borders of the country. As it turned out, leavers had lower mortality risks than natives and migrants who stayed in Rotterdam. In a next step, we divided the group of leavers into a group that returned to their home town, and a group that moved on to another destination. The latter group had the lowest mortality risks, but no significant difference between native stayers and return migrants was found. The effect size of the category in the multivariate models, as well as the survivor rates in the Kaplan Meier curves suggested, however, that the return migrants had lower mortality risks compared to native stayers. This led us to the conclusion that the salmon bias hypothesis is a red herring: The more people moved the healthier they were. This turned out also to be the case for natives who left Rotterdam, as they had lower mortality risks compared to natives who stayed in the Dutch port city. The fact that only a minority of the migrants returned to their home town and that they did not purposefully return home to die shows that for a majority of the migrants the ties with the home front had weakened and that their feeling of belonging had most likely changed. A large majority of the stayers among the migrants obviously felt no urge to be buried in their place of birth. This shows that although social inclusion was a painful process, stayers nevertheless became attached to Rotterdam.

9.2 Implications for the debate

Let us now put these results into a broader perspective and evaluate how our findings relate to existing studies, and how they contribute to the historical debate about the social inclusion and exclusion of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century urban in-migrants. As we indicated in the

introduction, existing historical migration studies can roughly be divided into a 'positive' and a 'negative' school. Since (historical) reality is complex, human history is neither black, nor white, but rather a panel of different shades of grey. That said, in the case of the migrants under study the shades were relatively dark.

This study shows, in line with more qualitative studies by the *Chicago School of Sociology* on American cities (Park 1928; Park & Burgess 1925) and their later followers (Handlin 1951, Bouman & Boumann 1955; Cheavalier 1958; Lis 1981), that the social inclusion of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century migrants into north-western European port cities was, in many respects, not a smooth process, and that social exclusion took place on a large scale. Migrants were generally disadvantaged in all core domains of the urban societies under study, apart from the domain of health and longevity; but even in this respect, certain sub-groups of migrants fared badly, and we found evidence that in the long run stayers paid a health price for their move to the city. These results are, in the first instance, incompatible with studies inspired by the *Annales School* in France and the *New Economic History* in the US (Moch 1983; Sewell 1985; Jackson 1997; Lucassen 2004), which reached the conclusion that the incorporation of migrants was a relatively easy-going process, because newcomers were a selective group of migrants, who moved within a well-defined network with a disproportionate amount of human capital, enabling them to face the challenges posed by moving to and settling in a city. Of course, this group of migrants also existed, and we were able to trace and identify them, but for a majority of the migrants social inclusion posed serious challenges.

The discrepancy in results between the 'positive' and 'negative' school cannot be explained in terms of stayers and leavers. Both groups had comparable chances of getting access to the marriage market, which is a first indication that leaving should not be interpreted as a consequence of being unable to become incorporated into the receiving society. Next, stayers were not necessarily successful in terms of urban labour market inclusion as the results on the career mobility of internal migrants in Stockholm showed. In addition, leavers who moved to another destination compared to their home town, turned out to have the lowest mortality risks of all groups of migrants and natives. This suggests that leavers were the physically strongest group of migrants, who were willing and ready to take up new opportunities elsewhere. The degree to which they were successful remains largely an unanswered question, but the fact that this group stayed disproportionately unmarried is a strong indication that they were not easily incorporated elsewhere.

The inconsistency in results between the 'pessimistic' and 'optimistic' school seems to be caused by (1) a divergent use in sources and methods, and (2) by the fact that certain groups of migrants were included relatively easily into certain domains of society, while they remained

outsiders in other domains, and (3) the influence of the historical context. Studies from the optimistic school (e.g. Sewell 1985; Moch 1983; Lucassen 2004) have relied especially on marriage certificates, which leads to a selective sub-sample of the much larger migrant population. That specific sub-sample consists exclusively of migrants who received access to the marriage market. It is therefore not surprising that their results lead to an optimistic picture, since migrants who faced exclusion in the marriage market are not included in those studies. Our point of departure is the population register, which consisted, in principle, of all migrants who officially resided in the cities of study. This leads to a more representative and much less optimistic picture of the social inclusion process of the migrant population as a whole. That said, the 'pessimistic' school seems to have been too negative in certain respects, especially about the fate of rural-to-urban migrants. In port cities like Antwerp and Rotterdam they had, for example, better chances of getting access to marriage and reproduction, which shows that they were not simply marginalized in the domain of private relations. This result also makes it less likely that the problems they encountered were related to a lack of a social network, as the latter was usually a condition for finding a partner (cf. Van Poppel 1992). This suggests that rural-to-urban migration had a less disruptive effect, as stated by studies of the Chicago school of Sociology, and underlines some of the main points of the 'optimistic' school. Nevertheless, rural-to-urban migrants generally reached much lower occupational positions than urban-to-urban migrants, which indicates that they had less human capital, and that the move from a rural to an urban labour market required more adjustment than the move from one urban labour market to another. Discrimination against rural-to-urban migrants also played a role in this respect (cf. Bouman & Bouman 1955; Van de Putte 2003). After all, it is striking that rural-to-urban migrants faced excess mortality when major epidemics were a thing of the past, notwithstanding the fact that they were positively selected in terms of health in their home region.

The fact that certain migrant groups were relatively easily incorporated in certain domains of society, while facing exclusion from other domains, also explains, at least to a certain degree, the discrepancy in results between the pessimistic and the optimistic school. Rural-to-urban internal migrants had, for instance, problems of becoming incorporated into the labour market, but in terms of access to marriage and reproduction they fared relatively well. Exactly the opposite result was found for long-distance migrants and urban-to-urban migrants. This shows us that results on the social inclusion process of migrants into a certain domain of society cannot simply be extrapolated to other domains. Lastly, the historical context was important. Although, internal migrants in Antwerp and Rotterdam entered the labour market on average at lower positions than natives, they were able to achieve major upward mobility, reach

similar positions to natives, and to finally out-perform them. In Stockholm, however, internal migrants entered the labour market at lower positions, moved up, but were unable to close the gap with natives. The gap between internal migrants and natives grew even larger during the latter part of their career. Consequently, results on certain migrant groups cannot simply be extrapolated to other cities. The historical context in terms of the opportunity structure, as well as the degree of societal openness had a strong influence on the likelihood that migrants became full insiders.

9.3 Strengths and limits of this study

The strength of this study lies, in part, in its life course approach and the use of longitudinal data and techniques. This allowed us to evaluate the influences of previous experiences - e.g. growing up in a city or in the countryside, moving early or late, moving short or far - on the social inclusion process of urban in-migrants. In the case of career mobility, the life course approach enabled us to investigate whether migrants were able to experience a process of convergence in terms of labour market performance during their career, and with respect to mortality, the life course approach helped us to shed new light on the determinants of the healthy migrant effect and to test the salmon bias hypothesis.

Another strength of our study is that we started our investigations in the population register, and thus did not depart from a source that was either over-represented by migrants who became easily included in the receiving society or migrants who ran into trouble. The first is partially the case for studies of the optimist school, while the latter applies to more qualitative studies from the pessimist school. We started, instead, with a representative sample of the migrant population under study. Accordingly, we believe that our results are less biased. Nevertheless, migrants who were only temporary in the city and did not register were more likely to have not been covered by the source material.

Our study shows that following migrants upon departure can lead to new insights about their inclusion process in the urban society they left. Leaving the society of study has often been interpreted as being unsuccessful, but it might well have been a reaction to better opportunities elsewhere (cf. Thernstrom 1973; Lucassen 2004). We were only partially able to investigate these issues, because the data on Antwerp and Stockholm did not allow us to follow migrants once they left the city. In the case of Rotterdam, it was possible to follow migrants within the borders of the Netherlands, but in this respect there were clearly also limits to the data. We were, for example, not able to shed more light on the social mobility of leavers outside Rotterdam, as we ended up with a too few occupational titles to make any judgements about the further developments of the career of these leavers.

Another limitation lies in the fact that we do not have information on the intentions of the migrants under study, but only about their actual behaviours. Consequently, we do not know if migrants were able to realize their dreams and if their move to the city fulfilled their expectations. We can only compare their behaviour with that of the native population and infer conclusions on the basis of the positions they obtained in the receiving society and the likelihood and timing of certain transitions in the life course vis-à-vis natives. This approach might be misleading in a certain sense, as natives are expected to set a standard for migrants, while under certain circumstance rather opposite was the cases, as the extraordinary strong labour market performance of international migrants in Antwerp suggests. In the Belgian port city, it was the immigrants rather than the natives who pulled the strings in the labour market and they might have influenced natives more than they were being influenced by them. Next, taking the natives as the reference category might be still misleading in another way. The fact that internal migrants in Stockholm generally obtained lower social positions than natives tends to make us believe that these migrants were 'unsuccessful'; but we might have very well reached a different conclusion if we had used the population of their place of origin as the reference category. On the basis of the available data, the latter approach is, however, much more difficult to put into practice. Last but not least, our approach tends to view the native population as a static category and as non-movers, while a large share of the native population in these cities became migrants themselves in the course of their life, and when they did so, certain behavioural outcomes seem to have been much more similar to those of the migrants who moved to the city they left. At least that is what we found when we compared mortality differences between migrants in Rotterdam and natives who left the Dutch port city.

A strength of this study lies in the fact that we compare various migrant groups in different cities. In this way, we gained a better idea about the influence of the historical context on processes of social inclusion and exclusion. This showed us that comparable groups of migrants followed different paths of social inclusion and exclusion in the different cities, and by comparing the historical context of these three cities and the features of the migrants we were able to gain some insights into the backdrops of these different experiences. However, due to data limitations the comparisons were mostly far from perfect. For Rotterdam, we were mostly unable to incorporate international migrants, while leavers could not be followed for Antwerp and Stockholm. Moreover, in the case of Antwerp and Rotterdam the samples we used were relatively small, which led regularly to a lack of statistical power, through which smaller differences between the cities and different migrant groups could not be detected. It was, for example, largely impossible to distinguish between different groups of international migrants

according to ethnicity, as that would have implied splitting up the relatively small sample of international migrants into even smaller sub-groups.

Next, we pointed to the fact that partner choice and marriage are strong measures of social inclusion. Although we still think that this is the case, working with these indicators also contains an important disadvantage, as they inform us about migrants who arrived as singles and cannot be used to study the social inclusion process of migrants who were already married upon arrival in the receiving society.

This study applied an agency-structure approach to social behaviour in the tradition of Giddens (1971) and Bourdieu (1984). We still believe that this is an appropriate way of studying the social inclusion of migrants, but we also experienced that this approach might be misleading in a sense. By focussing on the agency of migrants within the overall structure of the receiving society, one might forget that the established community, which, in this approach, is necessarily treated as *structure*, consists of historical actors who used their own *agency* to limit the *agency* of newcomers. The agency-structure approach tends to black out the dialectic of processes of acculturation and social in- and exclusion. This study showed that human capital alone is often not enough to get established in the receiving society, because natives actively tried to exclude newcomers from mainstream society, and they were to a certain degree successful, because they were the ones who pulled the strings. Other approaches might be more suited to studying this dialectic relationship. Some of them might be found within conflict sociology.

Lastly, the fact that we did not deal with such topics as residential patterns, social networks, associations, crime, extra-marital births, etc. does not mean that we deem these topics irrelevant for processes of social inclusion and exclusion. Rather, we chose not to focus on those topics as they were due to data limitations less suited to comparing across the three cities than the main subtopics of this study. Moreover, we had to confine our ambitions in this respect, given the fact that the time for completing the PhD thesis was limited. The same arguments apply for not having incorporated certain features of the migrants, like their religion or their family and household structure.

9.4 Future research

Scholars from the ‘optimistic’ school have correctly drawn our attention to selection mechanisms, which were active both in the region of birth and in the destination society, in terms of sex, age, marital status, human capital, health, etc. Most existing studies only focus, however, on selection mechanisms with respect to one home region and/or destination society. This study suggests, however, that those selection effects operated not necessarily everywhere in the same way. The effect of economic capital on the likelihood of getting access to marriage

and reproduction seems, for example, to have been mediated by the type of labour market migrants moved to. By comparing three historical contexts, we were able to point to some potential mediating effects, but future research would allow for studying processes of social inclusion and exclusion in a much larger number of cities. Thus, it would be possible to include characteristics of the receiving society into the statistical model, such as population size and growth, the structure of the marriage or labour market, and the composition of the migrant community. This, we believe, will lead to more thorough insights into the influence of the historical context on processes of social inclusion and exclusion.

The above suggested approach is currently hard to achieve, due to the fact that the number of large historical demographic databases is limited, and because the existing databases have their own structures, variable names and are stored in different formats, making the database management very time-consuming and expensive. However, new historical demographic databases are being created and existing ones are being extended. Moreover, developments are currently taking place within the European Historical Population Samples Network, which will make the database management process easier and more efficient. One of the most important developments is the creation and implementation of the so-called Intermediate Data Structure (IDS), a new standard data format for large historical demographic databases (Alter & Mandemakers 2014). Currently, database managers are moving their historical demographic databases into this format. This will make it possible to use the same syntax time and again to generate the same type of data retrieval from any kind of a database stored in IDS containing the same basic information. Moreover, researchers in the field are constructing extraction software, which is being shared, and which will help researchers to move raw data from relational databases more easily into rectangular files, ready for analysis (Matthijs & Puschmann 2015). We believe that these developments will herald a new era in historical demographic research, from which historians and sociologists of migration will profit in the future.

9.5 Wider implication of this study

This study puts contemporary debates about the adaptation of migrants into Western society into context. Alarming studies and policy reports on the social exclusion of international migrants become considerably less shocking if we realize that it is only a century ago that Western societies were struggling with the social inclusion of internal migrants into European cities. Social observers, as well as some of the leading sociologists at the time, feared that urban society was breaking down as a result of the negative consequences of heavy urban in-migration (Hareven 1982; Lucassen 2005a). Those migrants who were marginalized at a time when

identity was still locally defined, and the 'imagined community' did not reach much further than the own municipality (cf. Anderson 2006; Moch 2012), became fully incorporated into mainstream society after World War Two, when the nation state became internalized by ordinary citizens and local and regional identities had been replaced by a national one. The arrival of 'guest workers' fuelled this process as it led to a redefinition of the insider-outsider figuration, incorporating all internal migrants into the group of insiders and turning the newly arrived international migrants into the new outsiders. The next major redefining of the insider-outsider figuration in Western Society was driven by the integration of the European Union, the fall of the iron curtain, the construction of *Fortress Europe* and 9/11. Migrants who move today between European countries are now rarely perceived as outsiders in the receiving society, and their educational attainment and labour market performance is highly similar to that of national citizens (Eurostat 2015). Non-Western migrants and especially Muslim immigrants have become the new outsiders. Their labour market participation is well-below that of native Europeans and, in the wake of the Rushdie affair, 9/11, several terroristic attacks in Europe by Muslim fundamentalists and the rise of IS, Muslim migrants are increasingly perceived as the new threat. In that sense, Islamophobia has replaced the Red Peril. The good news is that it will only be a matter of time before Muslim immigrants and their descendants turn into insiders. Islam is becoming increasingly institutionalized in Europe and North America and Muslim migrants and their children and grandchildren will obtain important positions in society leading to a change in perception. Sooner or later, Islam will be perceived as an intrinsic part of Western civilization, just like Christianity and Judaism, and Muslim migrants and their descendants will be viewed as a constituent part of European and North American societies. By then, the gap in educational and professional attainment will have largely disappeared. The bad news is that when this happens, a new group of outsiders will almost certainly be identified, as the incorporation of an older group of newcomers seems to be dependent on the arrival of a newer one that deviates even more from the native population in certain respects.

The fact that Moroccan and Turkish migrants and their descendants rarely intermarry with established European citizens today, or that non-Western European immigrants perform considerably worse in the labour market is not so shocking in the light of the results of this study. That said, today's challenges related to migration are, of course, real and they ask for deliberate policy. However, migration is not a new phenomenon and it has previously resulted in many challenges. The fact that today's descendants of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries migrants in Europe are not even aware of the challenges of their ancestors, might provide us with some confidence that today's outsiders will ultimately also become insiders. All manner of apocalyptic scenarios about the decline of Western society as a result of massive

immigration (cf. Collier 2013) echo nineteenth-century fears, and can be taken with a pinch of salt, as heavy migration in the past did not lead to a breakdown of society. In the last half a century, global migration rates have been surprisingly stable and the same is true for migration rates from developing to the developed countries (Czaika & De Haas 2014). Consequently, there is little reason to believe that the Western countries will be flooded by such massive numbers of migrants that a breakdown of society will ensue, and those migrants who do arrive will slowly but surely transform from outsiders into insiders.

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Summary

In this PhD thesis the social inclusion and exclusion of internal and international migrants are investigated in three Northwestern European port cities in the period 1850-1930 on the basis of quantitative research methods. The data are retrieved from three large databases: The Antwerp COR*-database, the Historical Sample of the Netherlands and the Stockholm Historical Database. All three database contain longitudinal data on the micro-level, derived from population registers. On the basis of these data the life courses of different groups of migrants and natives are reconstructed and compered. By comparing three cities it is possible to gain insight into the influence of the local opportunity structure on processes of inclusion and exclusion.

Five social-demographic indicators are selected, which are linked to core transitions in the life course: partner choice, marriage, the birth of the first child, social mobility and mortality. These indicators provide insight into the degree that migrants gain access to other groups, the marriage and labour market, as well as reproduction. The last indicator - mortality - is used to evaluate whether migrants were confronted with health problems due to their move to the city. In order to gain a clearer picture of who is included and who is excluded, and the underlying processes, the demographic features, the social, economic, cultural and sexual capital of the migrant groups is incorporated into the analyses.

The results show that the social inclusion of newcomers in the period 1850-1930 was a difficult process, due to cultural differences, and migrants' lack of human capital. Migrants had lower marriage opportunities, married at a later age, and completed later and less often the transition to parenthood.

If migrants married their marriage partner was usually not a native. Newcomers connected relatively easily to other migrant groups. This was especially the case for women in Rotterdam and Stockholm. This gender differences is the result of a shortage of men, through which women had to search their partner more often outside their own group.

In general small migrant groups had more difficulties in gaining access to the marriage market, but they connected easier to other groups. French-speaking internal migrants in Antwerp were an exception. They were less likely to marry, and if they married they were more likely to marry within versus outside their own group. This points towards a combination of marginalization and separation.

Internal migrants had lower positions in the labour market and were not always able to close the gap with the natives in the course of their career. Low-educated migrants from the countryside had a hard time, especially in the industrial capital of Sweden. Thanks to their

human capital international migrants were in all three cities very successful in the labour market. The fact that the same group had difficulties in gaining access to the marriage market shows that economic success did not necessarily lead to the bridging of cultural differences.

Migrants were favoured compared to natives in terms of mortality. The so-called healthy migrant effect was the result of positive selection effects: Healthier people are more likely to migrate. It was also proven that the lower mortality risks among migrants were not due to measurement errors. The healthy migrant effect was not caused by selective return migration of the weak, sick, elderly or migrants who had difficulties to adapt to the receiving urban society (salmon bias hypothesis). Migrants who moved to another destination had the lowest mortality risks. This is an indication that leaving was not necessarily a consequence of adaptation problems. It could have also been also a reaction to better opportunities elsewhere. The fact that leavers had similar marriage opportunities points in the same direction.

Although migrants had on average lower mortality risks than natives, four sub-groups were identified who experienced excess mortality due to social exclusion. Moreover, the health advantage disappeared late in the life course among migrants who settled on a more permanent basis in the cities under study. In the end migrants paid thus a health price for their move to the city.

The social inclusion of migrants went smoother in Antwerp compared to Rotterdam and Stockholm. This is explained by the specific port development and the dominant position of the port in the local economy. In Antwerp there were not only many opportunities for low-educated, but also for highly educated migrants. Maritime trade, and the large presences of international migrants created an open atmosphere towards newcomers.

Samenvatting

In dit doctoraat wordt de sociale in- en uitsluiting van interne en internationale migranten in drie Noordwest-Europese havensteden in de periode 1850-1930 bestudeerd aan de hand van kwantitatieve onderzoeksmethodes. De data zijn afkomstig van drie grote databanken: de Antwerpse COR*-database, de Historische Streekproef Nederland, en de *Stockholm Historical Database*. Alle drie de databases bevatten longitudinale data op microniveau, afkomstig van de bevolkingsregisters. Op basis van die gegevens worden de levenslopen van verschillende migrantengroepen en autochtonen gereconstrueerd en met elkaar vergeleken. De vergelijking van de drie steden maakt het mogelijk inzicht te verwerven in de invloed van de lokale gelegenheidsstructuur op processen van in- en uitsluiting.

Voor het onderzoek worden vijf sociaal-demografische indicatoren geselecteerd, die samenvallen met, of nauw verband houden met kerntransities in de levensloop: partnerkeuze, huwelijkssluiting, de geboorte van het eerste kind, sociale mobiliteit en sterfte. Deze indicatoren verschaffen inzicht in de mate waarin migranten aansluiting vinden bij andere groepen en toegang krijgen tot de arbeids- en huwelijksmarkt, alsmede reproductie. Met de laatste indicator - sterfte - wordt onderzocht of migranten met gezondheidsproblemen geconfronteerd worden als gevolg van hun immigratie. Om een beter inzicht te krijgen in wie wel en wie niet wordt in- of uitgesloten, en welke processen daar schuil achter gaan, worden de demografische kenmerken, en het sociaal, economisch, cultureel en seksueel kapitaal van de onderzoeksgroepen in de analyses betrokken.

Het onderzoek toont aan dat de sociale insluiting van nieuwkomers in de periode 1850-1930 geen sinecure was en dat dit sterk samenhing met culturele verschillen, maar ook met een gebrek aan *human capital*. Migranten hadden lagere huwelijkskansen, trouwden op latere leeftijd en voltooiden minder en pas op latere leeftijd de transitie naar het ouderschap.

Wanneer migranten in het huwelijksbootje stapten, was hun partner meestal geen autochtoon. Nieuwkomers vonden gemakkelijk aansluiting bij andere migrantengroepen. Dat laatste gold met name voor vrouwen in Rotterdam en Stockholm. Dit genderverschil had te maken met een mannentekort, waardoor vrouwen hun partner eerder buiten de eigen groep moesten zoeken.

Kleine migrantengroepen hadden het moeilijker om toegang te krijgen tot de huwelijksmarkt, maar zij vonden wel gemakkelijker aansluiting bij andere migrantengroepen. De Franstalige interne migranten in Antwerpen vormden hierop een uitzondering: zij bleven vaker ongetrouwd, en als ze huwden hadden ze een grotere kans om binnen versus buiten de eigen groep te huwen. Dit duidt op een combinatie van marginalisering en separatie.

Interne migranten bekleedden gemiddeld lagere posities op de arbeidsmarkt en konden in de loop van hun carrière het gat met de autochtone bevolking lang niet altijd dichten. Laagopgeleide plattelandsmigranten hadden het bijzonder moeilijk, met name in de industriële hoofdstad van Zweden. Dankzij hun *human capital* deden internationale migranten in alle drie de havensteden het wel goed op de arbeidsmarkt. Het feit dat diezelfde groep maar met moeite toegang kreeg tot de huwelijksmarkt toont aan dat economisch succes niet zomaar leidde tot de overbrugging van culturele verschillen.

Op het vlak van sterfte hadden migranten een voordeel ten opzichte van autochtonen. Dit zogenaamde *healthy migrant effect* was het resultaat van positieve selectie-effecten: gezonde mensen zijn meer geneigd te migreren. Er werd ook aangetoond dat de lagere sterfterisico's van migranten niet het gevolg waren van meetfouten. Het *healthy migrant effect* was niet het resultaat van selectieve retourmigratie van zwakke, zieke en oude migranten, of migranten die maar moeilijk geïntegreerd raakten (*salmon bias* hypothese). Migranten die naar een andere bestemming migreerden hadden de laagste sterfterisico's. Dit is een aanwijzing dat het vertrek van migranten niet noodzakelijk het gevolg was van aanpassingsproblemen, het kon net zo goed het resultaat zijn van betere kansen elders. Het feit dat vertrekkers geen lagere huwelijkskansen hadden dan blijvers, wijst in dezelfde richting.

Ondanks het feit dat migranten in het algemeen lagere sterfterisico's hadden dan autochtonen, werd een viertal groepen geïdentificeerd met oversterfte als gevolg van sociale uitsluiting. Bovendien verdween het *healthy migrant effect* bij migranten die zich duurzaam in de stad vestigden in de latere levensloop. Migranten betaalden dus een gezondheidsprijs voor hun trek naar de stad.

De sociale inclusie van migranten verliep in Antwerpen opvallend gemakkelijker dan in Rotterdam en Stockholm. Dat wordt toegeschreven aan de specifieke Antwerpse havenontwikkeling en de dominantie positie van de haven in de lokale economie. In Antwerpen waren er niet allen relatief veel mogelijkheden voor laagopgeleide migranten, maar ook voor hoogopgeleiden. De maritieme handel en de omvangrijke groep van buitenlandse migranten creëerden een open klimaat voor nieuwkomers.

Résumé

A l'aide de méthodes de recherche quantitatives, cette thèse de doctorat étudie l'inclusion et l'exclusion sociales des migrants internes et internationaux dans trois villes portuaires de l'Europe du Nord-Ouest durant la période 1850-1930. Les données sont issues de trois grandes bases de données: *The Antwerp COR*-database, The Historical Sample of the Netherlands* et *The Stockholm Database*. Ces bases de données contiennent des données longitudinales au niveau microsocial provenant des registres de population. Sur base de ces informations, les parcours de vie de plusieurs groupes de migrants et de personnes autochtones ont été reconstruits et comparés. La comparaison des trois villes permet de mettre en évidence le rôle influent des opportunités structurelles locales sur les processus d'inclusion et d'exclusion sociales.

Cinq indicateurs sociodémographiques ont été sélectionnés. Ceux-ci correspondent aux transitions principales des parcours de vie: choix du partenaire, mariage, naissance du premier enfant, mobilité sociale, et décès. Ces indicateurs permettent d'appréhender dans quelle mesure les migrants rejoignent d'autres groupes et ont accès au marché du travail, au marché matrimonial ainsi qu'à la reproduction. Le dernier indicateur – la mortalité – est étudié afin d'évaluer si les migrants rencontrent des problèmes de santé dû à leur immigration. Afin d'identifier les personnes socialement incluses et exclues, et en vue de comprendre les processus sous-jacents, les caractéristiques démographiques ainsi que le capital social, économique, culturel, et sexuel, des groupes étudiés ont été analysés.

Les résultats indiquent que l'inclusion sociale des migrants pour la période 1850-1930 n'était pas une sinécure, en raison de différences culturelles, mais aussi en raison d'un déficit en *capital humain*. On observe que les migrants avaient moins de chances de se marier, qu'ils se mariaient à un âge plus élevé, et que l'entrée dans la parentalité était également moins fréquente et plus tardive.

Lorsque les migrants se mariaient, le partenaire, dans la plupart des cas, n'était pas un autochtone. Les primo-arrivants rejoignaient relativement facilement les autres groupes de migrants. Ceci s'est particulièrement observé auprès des femmes de Rotterdam et de Stockholm. Cette différence au niveau du genre s'explique du fait d'un nombre moins élevé d'hommes que de femmes, poussant les femmes à chercher un partenaire en dehors de leur propre groupe.

Les plus petits groupes des migrants ont rencontré plus de difficultés à avoir accès au marché matrimonial, mais ils ont plus facilement rejoint les autres groupes des migrants. Les migrants internes francophones d'Anvers constituent une exception : ils sont restés plus souvent

célibataires, et s'ils se mariaient, ils avaient plus de chances de se marier avec un partenaire du même groupe. Ceci indique la combinaison d'un processus de marginalisation et d'un processus de séparation.

Sur le marché du travail, les migrants internes ont occupé des positions plus basses et ne sont pas parvenu à combler l'écart qui les sépare de la population autochtone au cours de leur carrière. Les migrants ruraux peu qualifiés ont rencontré particulièrement beaucoup de difficultés à cet égard, surtout dans la capitale industrielle de la Suède. Grâce à leur *capital humain*, ce sont les migrants internationaux qui s'en sont le mieux sortis, et ce dans les trois villes portuaires. Le fait que ce groupe ait par contre rencontré des difficultés sur le marché matrimonial montre que le succès économique n'aidait pas nécessairement à surmonter les différences culturelles.

Au niveau de la mortalité, les migrants avaient un avantage sur les autochtones. Ce *healthy migrant effect* était le résultat d'effets de sélection positive: les gens en bonne santé étaient plus susceptibles de migrer. Il a également été démontré que les risques de mortalité plus faibles des migrants n'étaient pas le résultat d'erreurs de mesure. L'effet de l'immigrant en bonne santé n'a pas été le résultat de la migration de retour sélective de migrants pauvres, malades, âgés, ou de migrants ayant eu des difficultés à s'intégrer (hypothèse dite du *salmon bias*). Les migrants ayant migré vers une autre destination avaient le risque de mortalité le plus faible. Ceci indique que le départ des migrants n'était pas nécessairement le résultat de problèmes d'adaptation car il est tout autant possible que ceci soit la conséquence de meilleures opportunités ailleurs. Le fait que les migrants qui partaient n'avaient pas moins de chances de se marier que ceux qui restaient pointe dans la même direction.

Malgré le fait que les migrants avaient généralement des risques de mortalité inférieurs à ceux des autochtones, quatre groupes dont la mortalité excessive est due à l'exclusion sociale ont pu être identifiés. En outre, le *healthy migrant effect* des migrants qui se sont installés durablement dans la ville a disparu au cours de leur vie. Les migrants ont donc payé le prix de leur migration vers les villes au niveau de leur santé.

L'inclusion sociale des immigrés était remarquablement plus facile à Anvers qu'à Rotterdam et Stockholm. Ceci est attribué au développement unique de port d'Anvers et la position dominante du port dans l'économie locale. Anvers offrait non seulement de grandes opportunités pour les migrants peu qualifiés, mais aussi pour les plus éduqués. Le commerce maritime et le grand groupe de migrants étrangers avaient créé un climat d'ouverture aux primo-arrivants.

Zusammenfassung

Diese Doktorarbeit untersucht die soziale Inklusion und Exklusion von inländischen und internationalen Migranten in drei westeuropäischen Hafenstädten im Zeitraum 1850-1930, basierend auf quantitativen Forschungsmethoden. Die verwendeten Daten stammen aus drei Datenbanken: *The Antwerp COR*-Database*, *The Historical Sample of the Netherlands* und *The Stockholm Historical Database*. Alle drei Datenbanken enthalten Längsschnittdaten auf Mikroebene aus den jeweiligen Bevölkerungsregistern. Mit Hilfe jener Informationen wurden die Lebensläufe von verschiedenen Gruppen von Migranten und Einheimischen rekonstruiert und verglichen. Der Vergleich der drei Städte ermöglicht es, einen Einblick in den Einfluss der lokalen Gelegenheitsstruktur auf Prozesse der sozialen Inklusion und Exklusion zu gewinnen.

Fünf soziodemographische Indikatoren, die mit wichtigen Übergängen im Lebenslauf zusammenhängen, wurden für diese Studie ausgewählt: Partnerwahl, Heirat, die Geburt des ersten Kindes, soziale Mobilität und Sterblichkeit. Diese Indikatoren geben Aufschluss über das Ausmaß, in dem Einwanderer in andere Gruppen eingegliedert wurden und Zugang zu Arbeitsmarkt, Ehe, und Reproduktion erhielten. Der letzte Indikator - Sterblichkeit - zielt darauf ab zu erforschen, ob Einwanderer mit Gesundheitsproblemen konfrontiert wurden. Um herauszufinden, wer (nicht) eingegliedert wurde, und um die dazugehörigen Prozesse zu verstehen, wurden demographische Merkmale sowie das soziale, wirtschaftliche, kulturelle und Sexualkapital der erforschten Gruppen in die Analysen einbezogen.

Die Forschungsergebnisse verdeutlichen, dass die soziale Integration von Zuwanderern in der Periode 1850-1930 ein schwieriger Prozess war, vor allem aufgrund der kulturellen Unterschiede und dem Mangel an Humankapital auf Seiten der Migranten. Zuwanderer hatten geringere Chancen auf Heirat, und wenn sie heirateten, dann meist in höherem Alter. Familiengründungen kamen ebenfalls weniger häufig vor und begannen später als bei den Einheimischen.

Wenn Migranten heirateten, dann war der Ehepartner in der Regel kein Einheimischer. Neuankömmlinge wurden allerdings relativ leicht in andere Migrantengruppen eingegliedert. Dies war insbesondere der Fall für Frauen in Rotterdam und Stockholm. Dieser Geschlechterunterschied ergibt sich aus dem Mangel an Männern, wodurch Frauen ihre Partner öfter außerhalb der eigenen sozialen Gruppe gesucht haben.

In der Regel hatten kleine Migrantengruppen mehr Schwierigkeiten, Zugang zum Heiratsmarkt zu erlangen. Im Fall einer Heirat kam der Ehepartner häufig aus einer anderen sozialen Gruppe. Französischsprachige inländische Migranten in Antwerpen bildeten eine Ausnahme. Ihre Wahrscheinlichkeit zu heiraten war geringer, und wenn sie heirateten, dann

meist innerhalb anstatt außerhalb der eigene sozialen Gruppe. Dies deutet eine Kombination von Marginalisierung und Separation an.

Inländische Migranten hatten niedrigere Arbeitsmarktpositionen und waren nicht immer in der Lage, die Lücke zu den Einheimischen im Laufe ihrer Karriere zu schließen. Vor allem inländische Migranten aus ländlichem Gegenden mit meist niedrigem Bildungsniveau hatten Schwierigkeiten, vor allem im industriellen Stockholm.

Dank ihres höheren Humankapitals waren internationale Migranten in allen drei Hafenstädten sehr erfolgreich auf dem Arbeitsmarkt. Die Tatsache, dass genau jene Gruppe Schwierigkeiten hatte, Zugang zum Heiratsmarkt zu erlangen, zeigt, dass wirtschaftlicher Erfolg nicht unbedingt die Überbrückung kultureller Unterschiede herbeiführte.

In Bezug auf Sterblichkeit befanden die Migranten sich in einer besseren Position als die einheimische Bevölkerung. Dieser so genannte *healthy migrant effect* war das Ergebnis positiver Selektionseffekte: Gesündere Menschen waren eher geneigt, ihre Heimat zu verlassen. Die verwendeten Daten unterstreichen, dass die niedrigere Sterblichkeit von Migranten nicht auf Messfehler zurück zu führen ist. Dieser *healthy migrant effect* wurde nicht durch die selektive Rückkehr von schwachen, kranken und alten Migranten oder Migranten mit Anpassungsproblemen herbeigeführt (*salmon bias* Hypothese). Im Gegenteil, Migranten, die an andere Orte weiterzogen, zeigten die niedrigsten Sterblichkeitsraten. Dies ist ein Hinweis darauf, dass das Verlassen einer Stadt nicht unbedingt als Folge von Anpassungsproblemen betrachtet werden sollte. Es könnte genauso gut als Reaktion auf bessere Chancen an einem anderen Ort gesehen werden. Die Tatsache, dass Migranten, die wegzogen, ähnliche Chancen auf *Eheschließung* hatten als die Migranten, die sich dauerhaft in der Stadt niederließen, weist in die gleiche Richtung.

Obwohl Migranten im Durchschnitt niedrigere Sterblichkeitsrisiken aufwiesen als Einheimische, wurden vier Untergruppen identifiziert, die „Übersterblichkeit“ aufgrund von sozialer Ausgrenzung aufzeigten. Darüber hinaus verschwand der *healthy migrant effect* später im Lebensverlauf von genau den Migranten, die sich dauerhaft in den untersuchten Städten niederließen. Dies deutet darauf hin, dass Migranten langfristig den Preis für ihren Umzug in die Stadt bezahlten.

Die soziale Integration von Migranten verlief in Antwerpen besser im Vergleich zu Rotterdam und Stockholm. Dies wird durch die spezifische Hafenentwicklung und durch die marktbeherrschenden Stellung des Hafens in der lokalen Wirtschaft erklärt. In Antwerpen gab es nicht nur viele (Arbeits-) Möglichkeiten für Migranten mit niedrigem Bildungsniveau, sondern auch für hochqualifizierte Migranten. Seehandel und die große Präsenz von internationalen Migranten erzeugten ein förderliches Klima für neue, ankommende Migranten.

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